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SCULPTURES
FROM THE
SOUTHWEST
PALACE OF
SENNACHERIB
AT NINEVEH

RICHARD D. BARNETT,
ERIKA BLEIBTREU
AND GEOFFREY TURNER

with contributions by

Dominique Collon, A. P. Middleton,
T. C. Mitchell and Ann Searight

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VOLUME II

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Preface

J. E. CURTIS

The appearance of the present volume marks the end of an ambitious project to publish all the Assyrian reliefs in the British Museum. Dr R. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities from 1955 to 1974, and the principal author of this catalogue, has himself had a large hand in this project. His presentations of the reliefs of Tiglath-pileser III (co-authored with Professor Margarete Falkner) and those from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh appeared in 1962 and 1976 respectively. Publication of the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II (by E. A. W. Budge) and those of Sargon and some of Sennacherib (by Sidney Smith) had appeared earlier in 1914 and 1938.

There remained outstanding a full publication of the sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, and during the latter part of his career in the British Museum Dr Barnett spent much time gathering material for this work. His intention was to collect together all the reliefs from this Palace, not just here in the British Museum but also those in other collections scattered around the world. It is hoped that most relevant reliefs and fragments have been included here, but inevitably there must be some that have escaped notice. Also, it has not been possible to include photographs of the reliefs uncovered by the Iraq Department of Antiquities and still in position in the Southwest Palace at Nineveh, although King's photographs of those he re-excavated in 1903 and 1904 have been published here, many for the first time. In addition to photographs of the reliefs themselves generously provided by the numerous museums concerned, included here are drawings of the reliefs made at the time of excavation in the mid-19th century and kept at the British Museum. Many of these reliefs cannot now be traced or no longer survive, so the drawings have assumed special importance.

After his retirement from the British Museum in 1974, Dr Barnett was able to devote more time to the preparation

of this volume but it was still a gargantuan task. In 1981 he enlisted the help of Dr Erika Bleibtreu, now Professor of Archaeology at the University of Vienna, who prepared the Catalogue, and of Geoffrey Turner who wrote a chapter on the architecture and later checked Dr Barnett's contributions. At the time of Dr Barnett's death in 1986, the volume was well advanced but a great deal of editorial and layout work remained to be done.

Although twelve years have now passed since Dr Barnett's death, the Department has not been idle in the intervening period. Firstly, a substantial amount of editing was undertaken by my predecessor, T. C. Mitchell. He was followed in this role by Dr Dominique Collon, Assistant Keeper in this Department, who has carefully checked and standardised the text and endeavoured to make the volume as complete as possible. Secondly, Ann Searight has laboured throughout on the plates and has invested a great deal of time and expertise in them. This has involved sorting out the illustrations, arranging them, having them reduced to the appropriate size and so on. In a project of such magnitude this has been a considerable undertaking and has involved a great deal of photographic work. For this we are indebted to the British Museum Photographic Service.

It is our sincere hope that this volume will be a fitting tribute to the memory of Dr R. D. Barnett, who throughout his career did so much to promote interest in and study of ancient Assyria. In this connection, Dr Barnett would have been gratified that the publication of this volume has been assisted by a grant from *Asahi Shimbun* of Japan, who themselves have done much to encourage interest in the Ancient Near East. Amongst other things, they have sponsored the travelling exhibition 'Art and Empire: Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum' that was shown at the Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum and the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum in 1996.

Foreword

R. D. BARNETT

Over half a century ago I joined the Staff of the British Museum and entered the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities¹ as an Assistant Keeper, Class II. The Keeper of the Department, Dr Sidney Smith, assigned to me as my first scientific duty the task of publishing the ivories from Nimrud. This perhaps appeared at first sight to be a fairly modest undertaking, but very soon turned out to be a much more complicated affair, involving many years of work, both in the form of physical repairs and joins, and in reading and research into the history of Phoenician and Syrian art and other matters (Barnett 1975, first published in 1957).

My preparatory studies for this investigation also led me, between 1932–9 and in the early post-war years, to pursue and read all that I could find, whether in print or in manuscript, about the excavations of Layard and his successors, from 1845 onwards, especially at Nimrud and Nineveh. Much of the history of those excavations was then unknown; much more had been forgotten. For printed information I was able to draw on the great collection of the Department of Printed Books of the British Museum,² while for manuscript and unpublished material, the help of the Department of Manuscripts with its incomparable treasures was available. The latter had been enriched since 1912 by the acquisition of the Layard Papers (see Chapter 2) – a vast collection now consisting of about two hundred and forty volumes of letters, diaries, plans, notebooks, and writings of all kinds – and these were further amplified by the Rawlinson Papers; but no one had till then searched this rich mine for archaeological information. In addition, much important material was to be gleaned from the Trustees' archives in the Director's Office and from the records of the Department to which I belonged. At this time Mr C. J. Gadd was working on research, particularly in the Trustees' archives, in preparation for his book *The Stones of Assyria* (1936) and he encouraged me to go through Layard's correspondence and gave me the privilege of assisting him in seeking out the archaeological information in it.

Strictly speaking, my own personal concern was only with Nimrud, but it was impossible to resist the temptation to read more widely, and surely no one could fail to be struck, even dazzled, by the magnitude of the youthful Layard's astonishing discoveries and to observe how he triumphed over every obstacle that stood in the way of his colossal achievement, much of which

he carried out virtually single-handed. Of course his pioneering methods, viewed in the light of those of today, were in very many ways somewhat rough and primitive, and his objectives (though often showing instinctive good sense) were over-ambitious. His work was carried out in a frenzy of energy, in a race against time, partly in open competition with the French, with inadequate support, and in a constant struggle against ill-health in a dangerous and unpleasant climate, against national parsimony, native hostility, and various forms of obstructionism and misunderstanding in many quarters both at home and abroad. Yet he persisted, generously backed by such far-sighted men as Sir Stratford Canning.

Inevitably he was almost overwhelmed by the mass of material that he discovered and could only push through the complete publication of a relatively small part of what he had revealed. Needless to say, viewed by modern standards Layard's methods of publication – like those of his excavations – still left something to be desired. Nevertheless, a fairly full, even excellent account of his work can be found in his two great books, *Nineveh and its Remains* (1849a) and *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (1853a), both amply furnished with engravings, many from his own sketches, and in the two volumes of *Monuments of Nineveh* (1849b and 1853b) published by public subscription. These supplied an illustrated account, in fulfilment of his responsibilities, with a promptitude that many a subsequent excavator might well emulate. These volumes (as well as the publication of his copies of cuneiform texts in 1851) compare favourably with the more expensive, indeed sumptuous publications of the French Government – viz. Botta and Flandin's massive *Monument de Ninive* (Paris 1849–50) in five volumes, and later Victor Place's *Ninive et l'Assyrie* (Paris 1867) in three.

Yet even so, what Layard did was still not quite enough. Whereas the early French excavators naturally and normally published the drawings of such reliefs as they had found in the context of the palace to which they belonged, this necessary practice was progressively neglected in this country. In this dereliction of duty, the chief fault lay in the lack of public and scholarly interest. Layard abandoned archaeology for politics, Loftus died quite young, and the sculptures became increasingly dispersed or destroyed without a full and proper record of their provenance.

Layard's fate was somewhat that of a figure of ancient Greek tragedy, whose fortune begets a certain hubris and attracts divine jealousy. It is hardly like that of a lucky prince in some fairy story or of a hero of legend who finds treasure and lives famous and happy ever afterwards. His misfortune was to have been in some ways too successful, to have discovered too much. At Kuyunjik alone, leaving aside the great finds at Nimrud and elsewhere, and speaking only of the Palace of Sennacherib, he claimed:

I had opened no less than seventy-one halls, chambers, and passages, whose walls, almost without an exception, had been panelled with slabs of sculptured alabaster recording the wars, the triumphs, and the great deeds of the Assyrian king. By a rough calculation, about 9880 feet, or nearly two miles, of bas-reliefs, with twenty-seven portals, formed by colossal winged bulls and lion-sphinxes, were uncovered in that part alone of the building explored during my researches. The greatest length of the excavations was about 720 feet, the greatest breadth about 600 feet. The pavement of the chambers was from 20 to 35 feet below the surface of the mound'. (Layard, 1853a, p. 589)

Nor was this all. In addition to the all-important discoveries at Kuyunjik of the palace itself and its sculptures, there was that of the royal Library of the Palace, the so-called 'K' or 'Kuyunjik' Library – a huge quantity of clay tablets inscribed with cuneiform writing which, in the hands of Rawlinson and his fellow decipherers, proceeded to reveal in detail an entire new world, laying open the history, religious beliefs, economic and social life of the ancient Assyrians. All this tended to distract both scholarly and public attention from the study of the palaces and their reliefs. Furthermore, as the 19th century drew to its close, the proper appreciation in this country of Layard's great work was increasingly obscured by the bitter animosity towards him and Rassam which E. A. W. Budge, then a young Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, felt and expressed. This tension finally flared up into the lawsuit for slander which Rassam brought against Budge in 1892–3.³ The evil effects of this painful episode continued long afterwards. Budge lost the case in court but continued wherever he could, with some success, to obliterate or minimise any reference to the achievements of Layard or of Rassam. Study of Assyrian palace art virtually went to sleep. Only a little-known but remarkable scholar of Scottish origin, the Reverend Archibald Paterson (1862–1932), working quietly on his own, possessed the vision and found the time among his parish duties outside and later inside London, to take up the subject and to fill this need, especially in the case of the Palace of Sennacherib (see Chapter 2, Appendix B). In his book *Assyrian Sculptures – Palace of Sinacherib* (published in the Hague, 1912–15) he was able to reunite in printed form all the then-known and published sculptures from that palace, rearranged admirably room by room, though these, as we now know, formed only a small part of the whole collection that had been excavated in the building. This far-sighted work laid the foundations of the present study and, for many years, filled the gap in our knowledge of that palace.

In 1936 a new era in the study of Assyrian art began when *The Stones of Assyria* appeared – a fresh analysis of the Assyrian palaces and their decoration by C. J. Gadd, based on his research

into unpublished manuscript sources in the various collections of the British Museum. Layard's reputation was once more rehabilitated and enhanced – one might indeed say that Layard himself was rediscovered – and the way was cleared for the systematic publication of his and his fellow artists' drawings of the Assyrian reliefs. At the same time, Ernst Weidner, Professor of Assyriology at Graz University in Austria, fired with a similar enthusiasm, had also begun systematically to search for and publish, in various articles between 1935 and 1960, the dispersed Assyrian reliefs now scattered over various continents, countries and collections. C. J. Gadd's work contributed enormously to this same aspect of the subject.

In his deeply interesting and masterly study – marred only by the absence of an index – Gadd did even more. He succeeded in tracing and unravelling carefully for the first time the record of the complex events whereby the successive expeditions of Layard and his immediate successors (Rassam and Loftus in particular, but of others too) recovered the Assyrian civilisation. He also (particularly in his 'Provisional List of Sculptures now surviving' on pp. 247–52 of his book) pointed the way towards the proper aim of ultimately reuniting – at least on paper by means of photographs of surviving and unpublished drawings – the entire record of decoration of all the Assyrian palaces that Layard and his successors had discovered, in order to show how these sculptures were originally arranged. These drawings, made by Layard himself and by other more strictly professional artists who accompanied the successive expeditions (before the days when photography ousted the human eye and hand),⁴ filled seven large, bound volumes and contained material which had remained till then largely unpublished and generally unknown (see Chapter 2), except for a relatively meagre selection of some 170 plates issued by Layard in his *Monuments of Nineveh* referred to above. The idea that the reliefs and other sculptures should be published palace by palace, room by room, wall by wall, was no new one – after all it had been the basic principle of Botta's and Place's great works – but the chief obstacle had obviously always been the expense. Nevertheless, it was from the archaeological standpoint the only sound policy.

In 1928 the Oriental Institute of Chicago had resumed the excavations, applying more modern methods, at the old site of Khorsabad, and published the results (Loud, 1936; Loud & Altman, 1938). In 1949 M. E. L. Mallowan reopened the site of Nimrud on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq.

All this may have helped to stimulate the Trustees of the British Museum and its officials into accepting a new policy on the publication of old discoveries. After all, the excavations of Nimrud and Nineveh were excavations of the Trustees, who might be deemed in some degree responsible – according to modern views – for their proper publication. Not only was such a plan of publishing the reliefs by palaces generally desirable – irrespective of wherever the surviving pieces might now be housed – but it offered the only reasonable and scientific way forward in studying the full series of the Assyrian reliefs, the development of their styles and chronology, their meaning and arrangement and the light they threw on other contemporary peoples and races. In effect

this meant publishing, in many cases for the first time, all the sculptures and drawings from the palaces of Tiglath-pileser III at Nimrud, and from those both of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal at Nineveh – a very considerable task. Only the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nimrud, it was felt, might be excluded from the programme for the time being, as its sculptures were adequately represented in the works of Budge (1914) and later of Stearns (1961), both based ultimately on those of Layard. (This palace has since then been further excavated and very fully dealt with by other scholars.)⁵ The whole matter was considered by Gadd to be worthy of investigation and, as a result, I was authorised in 1955 to make a journey to Graz to meet Professor Weidner and discuss matters with him. The meeting, both pleasant and successful, had the happy result that Dr Margarete Falkner, his able pupil and assistant, came to London in 1959 and we were able to collaborate in preparing the first of the studies framed on the new plan. This plan bore its first fruit in 1962 in the *Sculptures of Tiglath-pileser III*.⁶

I followed the same policy and similar principles in preparing my own comprehensive work on the *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh* – ultimately published in 1976, shortly after my retirement from office. The completion of this very considerable undertaking by process of elimination now left free for attention an even more daunting task: the publication of the material from that other great palace of Nineveh known as the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib. I had begun working on this subject many years previously and had amassed a quantity of notes, but had been obliged by many distractions to abandon it for the time being. The fortunate and timely arrival in 1981 of Univ. Doz. Dr Erika Bleibtreu of Vienna, herself a pupil both of the late Dr Margarete Falkner and of the late Professor Sir Max Mallowan, made possible a renewal of the happy Anglo-Austrian collaboration in the discharge of what would have been otherwise a most heavy burden. We were joined by Mr Geoffrey Turner, who has made a special study of the subject of Assyrian palace architecture.

Our particular thanks are due in the first place to Dr E. Sallberger, my successor as Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities, who encouraged me and offered us every facility; to Dr Daniel Waley, Keeper of Manuscripts, British Library, for access to,

and permission to quote from and publish, material from the Layard and Rawlinson papers (formerly owned by the Trustees of the British Museum); and to those museums, collections and collectors who have kindly permitted us to include in this work the sculptures and fragments in their possession. A full list of these sculptures and their present owners is to be found in the concordances at the end of this volume.

Notes

1. The Department, created in 1866, was split in 1955 into the present Department of Egyptian Antiquities and Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities.
2. In 1973 renamed (somewhat ingloriously) the Reference Division, British Library.
3. For Budge's accusations and the lawsuit which Rassam brought against him see Budge, 1920, II, pp. 300–8; Waterfield, 1963, pp. 478–80; and the *Layard Papers*.
4. The apparently earliest examples of the use of photography in the service of archaeology were taken in 1853 by Monsieur Tranchard and are reproduced in M. L. Pillet, *Khorsabad. Les découvertes de V. Place en Assyrie*, Paris 1918, pls XV–XXII; and *idem*, *Un pionnier de l'Assyriologie*, Victor Place, Paris 1962, pls I–XV. Others, taken either by Boutcher or Loftus in 1854, are reproduced in Barnett, 1976, pls XX and XXXVI. These photographs, from Rooms F and M of the North Palace at Nineveh, were seen at Mosul in September 1854 by the Reverend Lobdell (Barnett, 1976, p. 17, n. 5). By October 1854 Boutcher had ordered a new apparatus from Paris using the 'waxed paper process'; but this did not get further than Alexandretta where it was still found lying when Loftus and Boutcher passed there on their way home in March 1855 (Barnett, 1976, p. xi, n. 2). Loftus, however, gave a report to the BM Trustees in April 1853 on his work at Susa, mentioning 'photographic representations of some inscriptions', but no more is as yet known of these.
5. The reopening of the palace of Ashurnasirpal formed the subject of Mallowan's campaigns in 1949–63 (see *Iraq* 12–25 (1950–62) and Mallowan, 1966, pp. 93–183), and these were followed by the work of the Iraq Department of Antiquities at the site (Madhloom, 1967–9) and that of the Polish expedition (Meuszyński, 1981).
6. Several of the sculptures there published and noted by us as lost were rediscovered by the Polish expedition.

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NB This bibliography was originally prepared in the mid-1980s and has not been systematically updated.

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PART I

CHAPTER 1

The Palace and its Excavation

R. D. BARNETT

The history of the first century of excavations at Kuyunjik has as yet only been written in the briefest form (Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a). Layard's own fairly full account of his work in the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib (Layard, 1849a, II, p. 120 *et passim*; 1853a, p. 66 *et passim*) is supplemented by the indispensable contribution of Paterson (1915) who brought some much-needed order into the profusion of material. In his *The Stones of Assyria* Gadd made brief references to these explorations (1936, pp. 36–7, 40–1, 46, 58–61, 66–9), whilst in 1976 the present writer contributed a mere outline on the subject (Barnett, 1976, pp. 3–9 and 21–7). In his excellent biography of Layard, Gordon Waterfield has given a vivid description of the discoveries at Nineveh and elsewhere, based both on Layard's published works and also on his notebooks and letters, etc. (1963, pp. 113–224); and a brief but comprehensive account of the excavations of Sennacherib's palace is also to be found in J. M. Russell's recent study of this building (1991, pp. 34–77). Nevertheless by combining notes and reports from several sources we can piece together a more or less coherent picture of what took place, though that picture will still inevitably remain somewhat imperfect, inexact and incomplete.

Layard at Nimrud

In 1842 Layard had visited in Mosul P. E. Botta, the French discoverer of Khorsabad, and had been much excited by the evidence of his finds there. Since then Layard had had his eye on the great mound of Kuyunjik as the most likely candidate for the site of the lost city of Nineveh. Botta was then himself making the first soundings on this mound, searching for Assyrian remains, but met with no success, and abandoned the task after three months (Layard, 1849a, I, pp. 9–10, 16). Layard began by seeking the interest and support of Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador at the Porte, and Canning provided a subsidy of £80. In order, however, to avoid clashing with the French at Kuyunjik, Layard, following Canning's strict instructions, began his own excavation very secretly at Nimrud about 20 miles downstream on 9 November 1845. Layard was accompanied

only by a friend from Mosul, Henry Ross, a merchant in that city, and by a *cawass* and a servant, and was instructed to pose simply as a 'traveller fond of antiquities and picturesque scenery'. As soon as he started to dig he found the Assyrian level at a point where it was near the surface; he had struck the palace of Ashurnasirpal.

The first soundings at Kuyunjik

Excavations continued on a modest scale. In view of the difficulties which he believed the Turks and the French might well create for him, Layard considered it would be unwise to attempt to excavate openly until his activities were duly authorised by the issue of an official *firman* from Constantinople, and he could only meanwhile mark time. At last this authorisation reached him towards the middle of May 1846. It was in the form only of a *firman* from the grand vizier, not a royal decree. However, it authorised him – not by name, but under the description of 'an English gentleman, working on behalf of Sir Stratford Canning' – to excavate in Iraq and to export his finds to England.¹ This – at least in Canning's mind – meant that ultimately Layard would become the agent of the Trustees of the British Museum, that is to say, of the British Government. Layard therefore moved to Nineveh. The acting French vice-consul in Mosul, Monsieur Guillois, who already in January was also said to be applying for a *firman*, had begun his own operations, but his men dug pits haphazardly and, in Layard's view, in all the wrong places. Guillois was most suspicious, and insisted on seeing Layard's *firman*. He then attempted to argue that the French alone possessed the rights to excavate over the entire mound of Kuyunjik, but again Layard firmly held his ground and disputed the claim. He then made the very reasonable suggestion that they – the British and French – should divide the site between them, but this was rejected (Waterfield, 1963, p. 143). So he decided to act on his own. Setting a small party of ten men to work 'for a few days' at the southwest corner, he was soon rewarded by the discovery of small fragments of sculpture. It was now 18 May 1846; after work had continued for about a month, Layard could claim with some confidence that the remains

were those of a building contemporary, or nearly so, with that of Khorsabad (Layard, 1849a, I, p. 132).

Unfortunately Layard had become involved in a violent quarrel with an arch-enemy, the *cadi* of Mosul, and this threatened to upset everything. But again Layard remained firm. Nevertheless, on Canning's instructions the small excavation – if we may call it such since it was in fact no more than a *sondage* – was damped down in mid-May 1846 in favour of the now highly successful campaign of mounting discoveries at Nimrud. However, by June the funds which had hitherto been advanced from Canning's own purse had run out and Layard was reduced to drawing money from his mother (Waterfield, 1963, p. 144).

The Nergal Gate

In August Layard left Nimrud and returned to Mosul where for a time his attention was deflected, on the advice of an aged stonemason, to a high mound which appeared to conceal one of the gateways of the vast city enclosure of Kuyunjik (Layard, 1849a, I, pp. 144–5) – the Nergal Gate, as we now know it to have been. Here Layard discovered a pair of gigantic winged figures carved in high relief but largely destroyed. They flanked the entrance of a room paved with limestone, while the walls bore a dado of plain stone slabs. On the sides were incised the signs representing 'the name of the Kouyunjik king', i.e. Sennacherib. For Layard, however, this was, as Gadd points out (1936, p. 30), a false scent in the search for the palace. To avoid the intolerable heat of the summer at Mosul, he decided, late in August, to go on a journey to Kurdistan and in October he accompanied the Turkish governor who was leading a small army into the Sinjar hills to chastise the unfortunate Yezidis.

The Trustees step in

Layard returned to Mosul in October 1846 to learn from Canning that the Trustees of the British Museum had taken over responsibility and provided the funds for the Assyrian excavations. These were to be primarily those at Nimrud, in a campaign which (Layard was firmly reminded) was not to last in any event beyond June 1847. The excavations at Nimrud were accordingly concluded in mid-May 1847; this left him, he said, just 'one month before the conclusion of the expedition to set about finding the secrets of Kouyunjik' (Waterfield, 1963, p. 174). Monsieur Guillois's men were still digging there, in pits too shallow to find the Assyrian levels (Layard, 1849a, II, p. 119). In May, therefore, Layard decided to resume his suspended excavations in the southwest corner, and after several days' digging a bas-relief (not described) was found (Waterfield, 1963, p. 175). Two Kurdish girls, the wives of workmen, swam the river on inflated goat skins, exactly in the Assyrian manner as depicted on the reliefs (Layard, 1849a, II, p. 120), to bring the good news to Layard in Mosul and to claim the customary *bakshish*. A new palace, the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib containing great bas-reliefs, its entrances flanked by winged bulls, had been discovered. The identity of its builder, of course (though recognised by Layard as 'the son of the builder

of Khorsabad'), and its full extent and importance were not to be known till fully another twelve months had elapsed, with the start of his next campaign accompanied by further progress in the decipherment of cuneiform. Four fragments of sculptures were sent home (32b, 490b, 700b, 702).

Layard's return home

We are not concerned here with Layard's brilliant discoveries at Nimrud, nor with his tussles with the Trustees over finance and with Canning over his own position and future. It was now June 1847 and high time for him to return home – if for no other reason, grounds of health would have sufficed – and for the curtain to be brought down on his first remarkable campaign, to be followed by universal acclaim and publicity.

The interim at Kuyunjik: Ross and Rassam at the Palace

But though Layard had left the scene, the problem still remained of maintaining a British presence and some degree of continuity at these sites that he had started to excavate; for in the circumstances of the period it was believed – or at least feared – that should at any time these excavations cease or merely be interrupted, the British claim to carry them out might lapse. Accordingly, the Trustees engaged Layard's friend Henry Ross, who had shared with him the excitement of the first discoveries at Nimrud, to continue on a modest scale with the excavations at Kuyunjik (Waterfield, 1963, p. 187). The funds for digging at Kuyunjik soon ran out and Ross was forced to supplement them from his own pocket until the Trustees allocated a further £500 (Gadd, 1936, p. 45). Soon after Layard's departure, Ross abandoned with extraordinary nonchalance the entrance façade to the throneroom which had been partly excavated by Layard, and proceeded to make soundings in various parts of the tell. He finally settled on a site 'on the opposite side of the mound', i.e. to the southwest, where he claimed to have found what he believed to be a new building containing sculptures (Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 137–40).² This information he vouchsafed to Layard – now in England – in letters, without indicating very precisely where the building was. However, on his return to Kuyunjik in 1849, Layard recognised that Ross' site was not a new palace at all, but part of the same building that he himself had located – Sennacherib's palace. Ross' site lay at the southern tip of the mound 'opposite Mosul' and consisted of the rooms later numbered LI and LIII. In LI sculptures survived to a height of four or five feet, about half their original height. In LI was recorded the conquest of a people living beside a river (PLATES 424–31); the reliefs however were much damaged by fire (Layard, 1853a, pp. 67–9). Of the second room (LIII) 'only a small part had been explored'. Ross left Mosul in late 1848 for England and Layard, on his way out again, attempted to make a rendezvous with him at Malta, then the most convenient staging post for British travellers. But Ross did not appear; instead he fades out of the narrative for some years. In his absence the Trustees placed the excavations at Kuyunjik under the charge

of Mr Christian Rassam, the British vice-consul (and business associate of Ross) who would be able thereby to retain the British title to the site. Rassam employed a small party of men under the supervision of a trusted Arab foreman known as Toma Shishman or 'Fat Thomas', who had worked with Layard. This time the excavators returned to the 'Grand Entrance', which Layard had found in 1847 just before he left, and investigations in this area by means of tunnels led them into part of Court VI, where they found the walls to be faced with reliefs (Layard, 1853a, p. 69).

Layard's return

Meanwhile in Constantinople late in 1848 Layard had been appointed by the Foreign Office to serve on the staff of the mixed Turco-Persian Boundary Commission, but resigning from it almost immediately, he offered to conduct a second campaign in Mesopotamia for the Trustees. He submitted an extremely ambitious plan to survey over two to three years the whole of Assyria, Babylonia and Susiana. In the event the Trustees allocated £3000 spread over two years for his work, but he himself received only £200 as salary plus £200 for his outfit and £30 for fares. Nevertheless Layard accepted. He was further to be provided with the services of a competent professional draughtsman, whereas hitherto he had had to draw everything himself. Luckily, he had been able to do so at Nimrud; but it was now too much to ask. The artist chosen was a young man, F. C. Cooper, who was selected by Layard's devoted uncle and aunt, Mr and Mrs Austen. Cooper travelled out to Constantinople in company with the young Hormuzd Rassam, the vice-consul's brother, who after assisting Layard in the excavations at Nimrud had been sent by him to Oxford to improve his education. A physician, Dr Humphrey Sandwith, was also engaged by the Trustees to join Layard in his work – an acknowledgement of the dangers of the unhealthy climate. The party duly met Layard in Constantinople in August 1849. They then sailed through the Black Sea to Trebizond, where they disembarked and travelled southwards overland via Erzerum. They reached Mosul on 29 September, and the next day Layard rode across to Kuyunjik to meet Toma Shishman on the site and to inspect the excavations conducted there in his absence.

The second campaign (1849–1851)

The major achievement of Layard's second campaign was his work on the Southwest Palace at Kuyunjik. Some sixty new rooms and courtyards were now investigated, although in some cases only in part. However, as is very evident from his journals (see Chapter 2), he was also active at other sites, especially at Nimrud; he in fact spent relatively little time at Nineveh but recorded the discoveries there whenever possible.

Layard records that by his return to Kuyunjik on 30 September 1849, all of his old trenches had become completely filled in again, as also most of those excavated by Ross. Three days later, after copying an inscription, he set three parties of men to work, one on the Nergal Gate and two on the Southwest Palace. Of the latter, one group evidently reinvestigated the Grand Entrance to

the throneroom, already partly excavated in the course of his first campaign and later by Ross; the other started work in Court VI, and on 4 October found there a relief showing 'the removal of a Bull'. On 6 October he left Mosul, together with Rassam and Cooper, but returned early on the 11th and remained there till 17 October. Sculptures were still appearing, and Layard copied the inscription on a pair of bulls, probably the important historical text of Sennacherib from the Grand Entrance to Room I (Layard, 1853a, pp. 138–46). Between 18 and 21 October Layard was at Nimrud, but on the 22nd he reports the discovery at Kuyunjik of 'basreliefs representing the removal of an obelisk in the rough', in fact not an obelisk but a winged bull doorway figure, these reliefs being part of the decoration of Court VI. On the 24th there was found a 'slab with the king in his chariot & procession of warriors'. He was then again at Nimrud, but on 4 November he records the discovery in the Southwest Palace of a 'fine basrelief with the King in his chariot attended by warriors – unfortunately the upper part with the head of the King destroyed – the harness of the horses very elaborate – the bit a galloping [sic] horse'.³ This would appear to be BM 124783, found according to Gadd (1936, p. 165) in Room XII (219–220). The following ten days again appear to have been spent at Nimrud; but on 14 November Layard returned to Kuyunjik, where a 'large figure strangling lion' had been unearthed, probably one of the so-called 'Gilgamesh' figures decorating the entrance to Room I. On the 20th a 'second bull behind front' was found, doubtless also part of this façade.

The long entry in Layard's journal for 1 December 1849 shows that his men were still working on this Grand Entrance and also in Court VI. The discoveries in the former area included a group of four cylinder seals and some beads 'under fragment of a Bull'. Layard later proposed that one of these seals was that of Sennacherib himself (Layard, 1853a, p. 160; Collon in Fales & Hickey, 1987, pp. 203–10). From 7–10 December he stayed at Mosul, and in Court VI found a series of reliefs showing the king superintending the removal of a bull (slabs 62–64, 150–153). The excavation of this series was still in progress on 14 December.

Christmas 1849 was spent at Nimrud, and on New Year's Day Layard returned to Kuyunjik where work continued in Court VI. On 2 or 3 January 1850 he transferred some of his men to a new part of the Southwest Palace, on the southeast edge of the mound, opposite the mill on the River Khosr. On his return from Nimrud on 12 January, he reported the discovery of a new Grand Entrance but without giving any further details; he then hurried back to Nimrud where he was busy excavating the 'Treasure Chamber'. On the 26th he paid a short visit to Kuyunjik, recording the excavation of a number of reliefs there, evidently from Room XXII; his men were still working in that chamber when he was again in Mosul on 3 February. On 15 February he reported the discovery of slabs in Room VIII, indicating the spread of the investigations in the area of Court VI; and on 18 February he wrote to Sir Henry Ellis, the Director of the British Museum, that he had accumulated a large collection of inscribed terracotta tablets. These must be from either Room XL or XLI, marking the beginning of the recovery of the all-important royal library, now known as the Kuyunjik Collection.

From 22 February till 9 March 1850 the energetic Layard was away visiting the mounds of Shomamok, Abu Sheetha and Nimrud. On 10 March, back at Kuyunjik, he found that the workmen had excavated to the southwest and northwest of Court VI, in Rooms VII–X. On the whole the reliefs in these rooms were badly damaged; but in Room X slabs were found showing a priest in a high cap making a sacrifice, prisoners with laden camels, and Assyrian soldiers carrying away the gods of the vanquished on poles (PLATES 142–143). Work also continued in Room XXII, where a slab was found showing a ‘string of prisoners with a curious headdress of feathers’ (slab 10, 312). On 18 March he wrote to Sir Henry Ellis that eighteen rooms had now been explored, many of them being sculptured, and gave a general account of these. Cooper the artist had already made sixty drawings at Kuyunjik and Nimrud; this was relatively quick work.

From 17 March 1850 Layard was away from Kuyunjik for almost two months, first at Nimrud and then at Arban and in the Khabur district. He was accompanied on this trip by an English couple, the Rollands, who had arrived at Mosul in late 1849 on their way to visit the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission, but had become so interested in Layard’s discoveries that they had stayed and helped him with his work. A month after their return from this excursion, however, Layard insisted that his friends should continue on their journey, as evidently his close relationship with Mrs Rolland had aroused jealousy in her husband, resulting in the inevitable problems and fracas (Waterfield, 1963, pp. 204–10).

On Layard’s return to Mosul on 10 May, he found amongst his letters from England the news of the grant of an additional £500 for the continuation of his excavations. The next day he was at Kuyunjik, where much had been discovered in his absence, notably in ‘the long descending passage’ (Room LI), in ‘the Chamber with wars[?] in country of palmtrees’, and (presumably in Rooms XL and LXI) the discovery of ‘a large collection of terracotta inscribed tablets’. The following days saw more and more tablets being found – ‘we appear to have got into a room almost filled with them’; and from 22 May onwards, most days were spent at the mound copying inscriptions. On 15 June, the day after the departure of the Rollands, another party of English and European travellers passed by Mosul on their way to Baghdad, including the artist S. C. Malan who stayed with Layard until 20 June and made a series of sketches (see Chapter 2). During the following two weeks Layard was busy at Kuyunjik, writing up his journal, making drawings, copying inscriptions, surveying, and preparing his accounts for the Trustees. He also started to remove a selection of the sculptured slabs, packing them ready for transport; on 8 July 1850 these were loaded onto a raft and sent downstream. By 11 July all was completed and Layard was ready for a change of scene to the cooler air of Van.

He returned to Mosul on 30 August 1850, and the following day inspected the new discoveries at Kuyunjik. These included ‘beautiful sculptures in common limestone – several bulls & lions – & many new sculptures’. To celebrate, he took a bath that evening. In the course of the next three weeks more discoveries were made, but his notebook gives few details. On 11 September he wrote

‘colossal lionheaded figure & human figure discovered – several entire slabs’. At the same time Toma Shishman and a party of workmen unearthed inscriptions ‘of the Kouyunjik King’s son’ (i.e. Esarhaddon) on Nebi Yunus, the smaller mound of Nineveh, to the southeast of Kuyunjik and also the site of an Assyrian palace. Little more is recorded in Layard’s diary jottings, with the exception of drawing and packing, until 27 September, when a series of slabs ‘showing at its head the king on his throne’ was found. On the same day ninety-five boxes were removed to the river. During the next few days Layard suffered badly from fever, and on the 29th wrote to the Trustees requesting leave. In the meanwhile the packing continued, and on 1 October a loaded raft or *kelek* was sent downstream. Further reliefs were prepared for shipment, and on the 5th he started packing those showing the ‘battle in marsh’, this task taking four days. On the 6th he began drawing the ‘great siege’, that is the Lachish series from Room XXXVI; and continued drawing until the 11th. On the 13th he was again feeling very feverish and unwell, but by the following day all the boxes were packed. These in their turn were now loaded onto a raft, which Layard accompanied as far as Baghdad, leaving Mosul on 16 October. In his absence Toma Shishman was once again left in charge at Kuyunjik.

In the following few months Layard directed his attention to the Babylonian sites in the southern part of the country, and did not return to Nineveh until March 1851, en route to Alexandretta and thence home to England. His arrival at Mosul preceded by only two days that of Thomas Septimus Bell, an artist sent out by the Trustees of the British Museum to replace Cooper. Although young, Bell impressed Layard who wrote to Ross, ‘He draws nicely and seems anxious to do all in his power – but he is very young and raw – a thorough Cockney’ (*Layard Papers* XI (396), Add.MS. 38941). Together they crossed over to Kuyunjik to inspect the discoveries of the past five months – ‘many new chambers have been excavated but with a few interesting fragments – but all in the same state of ruins’. Layard stayed at Mosul till the end of April 1851, when he finally left for Europe. However even after his departure, work continued on Sennacherib’s palace; and he later recorded that ‘since my return to Europe other rooms and sculptures have been discovered . . .’ (Layard, 1853a, p. 589). The Trustees appointed Bell as overseer of these excavations, but towards the end of May he was tragically drowned whilst bathing in the pool at Bavian.

Later investigations of the Southwest Palace

Following Bell’s untimely death the British vice-consul, Christian Rassam, once again supervised the excavations at Kuyunjik under the general control of Rawlinson in Baghdad. Other than the discovery of cuneiform tablets, little is known of the results of his explorations (Gadd, 1936, pp. 72, 77–80). Early in 1852 the Trustees appointed a new artist to replace Bell, again a very young man, Charles Doswell Hodder, who arrived at Mosul in April and stayed in Mesopotamia for the following two years, working with both Christian Rassam and later with his younger brother Hormuzd. In 1854 Hodder had to return to England due to

chronic ill-health. Hormuzd Rassam had returned to Mosul in October 1852, relieving the vice-consul of the responsibility of the work at Kuyunjik. He arranged for the transport to England of many reliefs from Sennacherib's palace, including the Lachish series from Room XXXVI (Rassam, 1897, p. 8; Gadd, 1936, p. 174), and also sunk a wide pit to the northeast of Layard's 'Grand Entrance' to the throneroom suite. Here he found a series of slabs depicting a procession of the king, his courtiers and bodyguard (PLATES 473–496). Although these reliefs were not found *in situ*, they had evidently decorated a descending passage which led from the palace to the adjoining Ishtar Temple (Rassam, 1897, p. 7; Gadd, 1936, pp. 94–5, 215–17). On Hormuzd Rassam's departure from Mosul in May 1854, William Kennett Loftus was appointed to continue the work at Nineveh, with the assistance of the artist William Boucher (Barnett, 1976, pp. 11, 16–17), and although he was mainly concerned with Ashurbanipal's North Palace, he evidently also excavated to a limited extent on the site of that of Sennacherib.⁴

There now follows an interval of almost twenty years, during which there appears to have been no 'official' exploration of the mound of Kuyunjik. In 1873, the British Museum sent out the brilliant epigraphist George Smith who was primarily in search of cuneiform tablets. In this and the following year he carried out two short campaigns, mainly re-excavating Layard's old tunnels and trenches, and found a large quantity of tablets and other objects, including the now famous missing fragment of the 'Deluge Tablet' from the Epic of Gilgamesh (Smith, 1875, p. 94 *et passim*). Four years later, in 1878, Hormuzd Rassam again returned to Nineveh after an interval of twenty-four years. With the assistance of his nephew Nimroud, as well as investigating several other sites, he continued the search for inscribed material in both the Southwest and the North Palaces on Kuyunjik (Rassam, 1897, pp. 199–200 *et passim*; Barnett, 1976, pp. 22–4). This 'tablet hunt' on behalf of the British Museum was further pursued by E. A. W. Budge in two sorties at Nineveh in 1889 and 1890/91 (Budge, 1920, II, p. 22 *et passim*).

At the beginning of the present century, in 1903, the British Museum sent L. W. King to resume the excavation of the Southwest Palace. As in the case of his immediate predecessors, his main object was re-excavating those parts of the building which had previously produced cuneiform tablets (Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, pp. 59–61, 65–6; Barnett, 1976, p. 24–5; WAA departmental archives). In 1904 he

was joined by R. Campbell Thompson who, on King's return to London in June that year, continued this work till early 1905 (Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 66). In 1927 Campbell Thompson was again back at Nineveh, and in his 1931–2 campaign, with the assistance of the young M. E. L. Mallowan, made a series of *sondages* in the as yet unexcavated northwest area of Sennacherib's palace (Campbell Thompson & Mallowan, 1932, pp. 72–4).

In the following three decades, it seems that the only 'excavations' on the site of the Southwest Palace were those carried out by the British army during World War II, when digging a large pit to accommodate a storage tank. Apparently they chose by chance the area of one of the open courtyards (information from Seton Lloyd, advisor to the Iraqi Directorate General of Antiquities, 1939–49).

In three seasons between 1965 and 1967, the palace was reinvestigated by the Iraq Department of Antiquities under the direction of Dr Tariq Madhloom, a student of Professor Sir Max Mallowan. The throneroom suite (Rooms I–V) was once again uncovered, that is the very part of the building first discovered by Layard 120 years previously (Madhloom, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1972, 1976). There has been sporadic Iraqi work on the site ever since, and the galleries have been provided with a roof to protect the reliefs. Finally, in 1987, an American team directed by Professor David Stronach reopened the excavations at Nineveh; the Gulf War led to an interruption of the work in 1990.

Notes

- 1 The *firman* desires that 'no obstacles be made to the above-mentioned gentleman taking such stones as he may find useful, likewise any that he may find in the course of excavations which he makes in places thought likely to contain such stones, or to his embarking them to be shipped to England' (Waterfield, 1963, p. 142). The actual *firman* is preserved in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Library (Layard Papers CXXV 4.(C), Add.MS. 39055).
- 2 Ross also reported the discovery at the foot of the mound of a stele of Sennacherib (Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 140–1; Paterson, 1915, pl. 4; Gadd, 1936, p. 45).
- 3 On such horse-bits see Curtis, 1994, pp. 17–21.
- 4 On Loftus' plan of Kuyunjik (Rassam, 1897, plan between pp. 8 and 9; reproduced in Barnett, 1976, Text-Plan 9) the screening wall between Rooms LIV and LVII is shown as his discovery.

CHAPTER 2

Sources for the Study of the Palace

R. D. BARNETT

The primary published sources relating to the Southwest Palace were produced by Layard in 1849 and 1853. The information contained in these works was then co-ordinated by Paterson in his *The Palace of Sinacherib* ([1912–]1915; see Appendix B to this chapter) and, more recently, by John Russell (1991). The British Museum and the British Library contain a vast treasure of papers (many of them as yet unpublished) relating both to Layard's excavations and to those of his successors at Kuyunjik. These papers fall into four main groups:

i The British Museum Trustees Original Papers. These include the Keeper's Reports, the Minutes of Trustees' meetings, and the correspondence of the Director with Layard and the later excavators at Nineveh (Rassam, Smith, Budge, King and Campbell Thompson).

ii The Archives of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities. These include the notebooks, diaries, sketches, etc. of Layard's successors at Nineveh. Those of L. W. King have been especially useful in the present study, and many of his photographs are published here (see Appendix D to this chapter).

iii The Layard Papers (LP). These consist of letters, diaries, notebooks and various other writings which were presented to the Museum by Lady Layard and subsequently bound into some two hundred and forty volumes; they are now in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Library, where they are catalogued under the heading *Additional Manuscripts*.¹ Of these only a relatively small though important number concern the excavations at Kuyunjik; details are given below.

iv The Original Drawings. These consist of drawings and sketches made by Layard and other artists at various sites including Nineveh, and are now bound in seven volumes and kept in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities. The details are given below with short notes on the artists in Appendix C.

The Layard Papers

The documents relevant to the Southwest Palace contained in the Layard Papers fall into two categories: letters, both sent to and written by Layard and, of far greater importance, his journals describing the actual excavations.

Add.MS. 40637 – letters written by Layard to Sir Stratford Canning from Mosul and Nimrud in the course of his first campaign, November 1845–June 1846.

Add.MS. 38941 (*LP XI* (396)) – typescript copies of letters written by Layard to Ross in the course of his second campaign, 1849–51.

Add.MSS. 38942–3 (*LP XII–XIII*) and **38975–38980** (*LP XLV–L*) – letters received by Layard or copies of letters sent by him, many containing references to the excavations.

Add.MSS. 39056–39059 (*LP CXXVI–CXXIX*) – C. Rassam's reports to Layard, November 1846–April 1851.

Add.MS. 39076 (*LP CXLVI*) – a notebook written in ink on 55 folios in two parts, entitled (1) *Notes to accompany Plans of excavations at Nimroud*, and (2) *Description of Plan of Excavations in Kouyunjik*. This describes Layard's first campaign in Assyria (1845–47); the second section, here referred to as *LN 1* and occupying folios 44–54, deals with his excavations in the Southwest Palace and describes the sculptures of Rooms I, III and IV and those decorating the 'Grand Entrance' to Room I. The transcription is given below. Some of the reliefs here described were neither drawn nor preserved.

Add.MS. 39096 (*LP CLXVI*) – officially described in the catalogue of the Department of Manuscripts as *Journal of Sir A. H. Layard from his departure from Constantinople on his Second Expedition to his return from the Khabour to Mosul, 28 August 1849–15 May 1850 quarto*. This is a fair copy in ink, written on 96 pages, of a

detailed diary covering the whole of this period, evidently based on rough notebooks some of which are no longer preserved. It also incorporates a mass of valuable archaeological information, some of which is published in *Nineveh and Babylon* (Layard, 1853a), but other parts remain unpublished. Frequent reference has already been made to it in the account of Layard's second campaign in Chapter 1.

Add.MS. 39089 (*LP CLIX*) – eight small notebooks, now lettered A–H, bound in original green leather, with metal clasps, and boxed. These, here referred to as *LN 2*, contain Layard's jotted notes, usually written in pencil and often so indistinctly that the readings are uncertain. There are also included some sketch plans, giving the widths of the slabs; but due to the lack of detail, it is not always possible to identify which room is drawn. Layard evidently made some use of these notebooks either to prepare a fair copy, as with 'F', or in the course of his preparation of *Nineveh and Babylon*, as with 'E'. This is indicated by the fact that the pages have been struck through in ink.

The details of the individual notebooks are:

Add.MS. 39089 A – contains diary notes beginning Monday 20 May 1850, thus taking over the record from Add.MS. 39096, and continues till Monday 6 October 1850. Folios 57–60 contain roughly-sketched plans giving the measurements of slabs of certain rooms (PLATES 17–18a).

Add.MS. 39089 B – contains barometric and geodesic readings and notes.

Add.MS. 39089 C – folios 6–12 contain notes on Court VI and Rooms VII–X, XII–XIV, XXXVIII–XXXIX, XLII–XLIII and XLVIII–XLIX. Of these, Rooms XIII and XLII are not described in *Nineveh and Babylon*. It also lists Court XIX and Rooms XL, XLI and LI, but without any observations. The transcription of these folios is also given below (*LN 2C*). The second part of this notebook contains diary entries from Thursday 17 October till Wednesday 13 November 1850, covering Layard's visit to Baghdad and Babylonia.

Add.MS. 39089 D – contains diary entries in ink from 28 April 1851 and covering his homeward journey with Cooper.

Add.MS. 39089 E – the first part, folios 4–29, contains diary entries from 5 December 1850 till 19 April 1851. The second part, folios 30–35, contains brief notes on Court LXIV and Rooms XI, XXIII–XXIV, XXVI–XXVII, XXXIV, XLIII–XLIV, XLVII, LVII–LXI, LXV–LXVII, LXIX–LXXI, YY, KKK and NNN. Of these, Rooms XI, XXIII, XXVI, XLVII, LVII–LIX, YY and KKK are not described in *Nineveh and Babylon*. Confusingly Layard turned the notebook round and wrote these notes starting on folio 34v, continuing through to folio 29v. These too have been transcribed below (*LN 2E*). Folios 36–43 are a diary of the weather. The various parts of the notebook are separated by blank pages which are unnumbered.

Add.MS. 39089 F – contains diary entries (in pencil, worked over in ink) from 22 February 1849 till 19 May 1850. Part of this volume forms the rough material of Add.MS. 39096, as described above.

Add.MS. 39089 G – contains geodesic notes and blank pages.

Add.MS. 39089 H – contains only blank pages.

Add.MS. 39077 ff. 75r–79v – amplified transcription by Layard based on notebooks C and E above; identified by John Russell in 1993 and published by him in *Iraq 57* (1995). In the interim he kindly supplied a typed version.

The Original Drawings

For the most part these drawings illustrate Assyrian sculptures, some being executed in pencil alone, and others in pencil enhanced with white or white and brown touches. There are also a few sketches and panoramas in water-colour. They are now bound in elephant folios, volumes I–VI probably having been assembled in *circa* 1855, or shortly afterwards, while volume VII was added in 1964. The arrangement of the drawings does not follow a consistent chronological order, volume III being the earliest in date, followed by IV, parts of I and II, and then V and VI.

Volume I – 73 pages. Drawings at Bavian, Nimrud and Kuyunjik, by Cooper (1849–50), Hodder (1853–4), Boutcher (1854–5) and Layard (1849–51). This volume mostly represents the portfolio brought home in 1851 by Layard at the conclusion of his second and final campaign, as published in *Monuments of Nineveh II*, together with some later additions.

Volume II – 75 pages. Drawings at Kuyunjik (1849–51), Arban (1850), Bavian (1851), Kuther Ilias (1853–4) and Nimrud (1854–5), by Layard (1849–51), Bell (1851), Churchill (1851?–2?), Hodder (1853–4) and Boutcher (1854–5). A miscellaneous collection.

Volume III – 90 pages. Drawings mostly by Layard, in pencil, of sculptures from the Northwest, Southwest and Central Palaces at Nimrud (1845–7); together with a few by Cooper from the 'High Mound' near Kuyunjik (1849–50). These mostly represent the portfolio brought home by Layard in 1847, and subsequently published in *Monuments of Nineveh I* (Layard, 1849b).

Volume IV – 75 pages. Approximately 80 drawings of sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Kuyunjik by Layard and Cooper (1849–50), together with two by Bell (1851).

Volume V – 61 pages. Drawings of sculptures and small objects from Kuyunjik by Boutcher (1854–5).² A few drawings at the end by Hodder (1854).

Volume VI – 59 pages. Drawings of sculptures at Kuyunjik, from the Southwest Palace by Hodder (1854) and from the North Palace by Boutcher (1854–5). The former building is described as

the 'Old Palace', to distinguish it from the newly discovered North Palace. Hodder's drawings also include the reliefs discovered by Rassam which had originally decorated the passage leading from the Southwest Palace to the Ishtar Temple.

Volume VII – 30 drawings and 4 photographs of sculptures from the North Palace at Kuyunjik by Boutcher (1854–5), executed for the Assyrian Excavation Fund with the financial assistance of Messrs Dickenson and Foster.³ Originally there were six more drawings, but these have disappeared.

Gadd first drew attention to the Original Drawings in his publication *The Stones of Assyria* (1936); but at that time Boutcher's drawings and photographs, although known to him from contemporary reports, were missing, hidden in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London. W. K. Loftus had deposited them there in 1856 after the Assyrian Excavation Fund had been wound up, very sensibly recording that he had done so in a footnote in the published account of his archaeological explorations (Loftus, 1857, p. 180). Gadd was evidently unaware of this reference, but the present writer did indeed search twice for the missing portfolio in the Royal Asiatic Society who kindly offered every facility, and also sought for it in many other places, but in vain. It was thanks to the perseverance and good fortune of J. E. Reade that the long-lost portfolio was at last rediscovered after a century of oblivion exactly where Loftus reported that he had placed it: in the Library of the Society. After Reade had published a preliminary

report of his discovery (Reade, 1964), the Society generously made the portfolio available for purchase to the Trustees of the British Museum, and it was then bound and added to the series of Original Drawings as volume VII.

Sketches by S. C. Malan – a series of water-colour sketches of Nineveh and Nimrud by Malan (1850), some of which were used by Layard in *Nineveh and Babylon*, and twelve of which illustrate the Southwest Palace at Kuyunjik. When Gadd first published some of these sketches in *Iraq* 5 in 1938, they were still in the possession of the Malan family but were presented to the British Museum by D. Malan on 13 May 1939, entering the Department of Manuscripts as **Add.MS. 45360, vol. IV**. This contains 274 sketches (83 folios) checked after binding in 1957; only 12 of these show sculptures from the Southwest Palace at Nineveh. These appear in the catalogue under the following numbers:

Forecourt H – **8b**

Court XIX (U) – **278b, 279b, 281a, 282c, 283c**

Room XXXVIII (V) – **447b-c**

Room XL (X) or XLI (W) – **463a**

Gallery XLIX (O) – **531b**

Gallery LI (T) – **566c, 576b**

Two unidentified sketches may be by Malan – **781, 782**

See also Appendix C below

APPENDICES

Appendix A – Transcriptions of Layard's Notebooks

The folio numbers are given in square brackets. In the notebooks, many of the words were abbreviated, with the ending added in superscript with a line or dot below. Here, for ease of reading, the missing part has been supplied within square brackets and the superscript has been omitted. Bold numbers inside square brackets refer to the catalogue Section.

Layard Notebook 1 (LN 1) – Add.MS. 39076, folios 44–54 (see PLATE 16)

[LN 1, f. 44r] **Chamber A [Room IV]**

Is on the edge of a ravine, which runs to a considerable distance into the mound, and was the first part of the ruins discovered. The Entrance [f, **18**] was formed by two slabs upon each of which were two winged figures facing Chamber B [Room I] – the first figure on each had the feet of an eagle, & was probably eagle headed. The feet & lower part of the legs of these figures could alone be distinguished. All the slabs in the Chamber were destroyed to within two or three feet of the bottom and were otherwise so much injured that drawings could not be made of what remained. Most of the slabs [**46**] appeared to have been occupied by processions of warriors,

captives, forests & mountains. On No. 11 could be distinguished part of a tripod, several vessels of various shapes, & (?) [sic] a censer.

Chamber B [Room I]

The southern end of this Chamber has been destroyed by the water which formed the [LN 1, f. 45r] ravine. As much as remains of No. 1, & part of No. 2 have been drawn [**19**]. The remainder of No. 2 & the whole of No. 4 [**21**] have been destroyed. No. [4 corrected to] 3 has been drawn [**20**].

Entrance a [later e; **22**] is formed by two gigantic human headed winged Bulls, the lower parts of which alone remain. Their length is about 16½ feet, & their height was probably about the same. They have but four legs – as the Bulls & Lions of the later palace of Nimroud. The inscriptions of both Bulls are too much destroyed to be copied ([Footnote on 44v:] Between the Bulls a large slab of marble richly carved.)

The whole of the slabs from entrance a to No. 6 had been almost completely destroyed. On No. 5 [**24**] may be distinguished the feet of a gigantic winged [deleted] figure. Of the remaining slabs part of No. 9 [**26**] and No. 13 [**28**] have alone been drawn. On the remainder appear to have been warriors ascending mountains, covered with forests, as on Nos [4 corrected to] 3 & 13, but

the sculpture has suffered so much from fire that little can be distinguished.

No. 14 and part of No. 15 [30–31] have been drawn – the upper part of No. 15 has been destroyed. ([Footnote on 44v:] The castle on No. 15 stands amongst mountains, which rise from the sea shore.) A row of warriors discharging arrows on the lower part of the slab is all that is preserved of No. 16 [32]. [LN 1, f. 46r] Beneath these warriors, corresponding with each group, are legs from the knee – they may have belonged to figures which were subsequently erased. On the [low]er part of No. 17 [32] is a row of prisoners & warriors. On No. 18 [33] a row of prisoners at the bottom, above them warriors discharging their arrows – the rest of the slab occupied by mountains & pines. The figures are such as have been frequently drawn.

The wall from entrance c to [19 corrected to] 20 destroyed.

No. [19 corrected to] 20 has been drawn [34].

No. 20 [sic! 35] Only a few figures on the bottom of the slab can be traced – they are warriors fighting – the rest of the slab has been entirely destroyed.

No. 21 [sic! 35]. The whole slab destroyed – a few lines of inscription may be traced, by [sic] the characters cannot be copied.

[LN 1, f. 47r] Chamber C [later G – Room V]

On No. 1 [47] there appear to have been three lines of warriors one above the other. The lower are not sufficiently well preserved to be drawn. No. 2 [47] Probably a continuation of the same subject, but the slab is so much injured that little can be distinguished. No. 3 [47] three lines of warriors on -?- No. 1 – the two upper are slingers – One warrior fragment. 1 & 2 from No. 2 [actually 3, 47c] have been drawn – the rest are similar. No. 4 [48] – The upper part of the slab destroyed. The lower part of certain archers – warriors besieging a castle, but too much injured to be drawn. No. 5 & 6 [49–50] are continuations of the same subject and have been drawn. Half of No. 7 [51] has been drawn the remainder contain lines of prisoners & warriors. Continued (without variety) from No. 6 – No. 8 [52] is much injured – it appears to have contained the King in his chariot preceded by warriors – with the river & the usual mountain scenery, as in the previous slabs. Nos 9 & 10 [53] greatly injured – led horses, a castle & the usual mountain scenery can be distinguished – No. 11 [54] is also much injured – the King [LN 1, f. 48r] in his chariot preceded by warriors can be traced – Above the King was an inscription which is partly preserved. No. 12 [55] almost entirely destroyed – warriors, trees, mountains -?- indistinguished – No. 13 [55] in the same state as previous – warriors driving prisoners & cattle may be traced. No. 14 [56] has been partly drawn – beneath the cattle &c there is another row of prisoners & warriors, both much injured. No. 15 [57] a double row of prisoners can be traced – No. 16 [58]. Under the mountains and trees is a row of warriors discharging arrows with the [deleted] shields (as No. 37 [72]) – beneath a second line of warriors also discharging arrows but without the shields, other warriors appear to be mounting to the assault of the city – No. 17 [59] A castle on the summit of a hill – on the summit of the town which are

defended by the enemy, are rows of circular bucklers. Some of the enemy appear to be falling from the castle walls – warriors are climbing the hill, at the foot of which appears to be a town. Warriors have attacked [?] the houses & are slaughtering the enemy. A sketch has been made of the castle, but this and the previous slab are too much injured to be drawn. No. 18 [60] A double row of warriors with their [deleted] shields and bows – the greater part of the slab is wanting. The remaining slabs [60, 62, 63] of this side of the Chamber are completely effaced. No. 27 [64] – A double line of warriors (facing 28) the first kneeling, with spears & shields, the second discharging arrows, and sheltered by the usual high shield. [LN 1, f. 49r] These warriors are separated by a river from horsemen ascending mountains (as in No. 30 [66]) – slab much injured – a fragment of a castle can be traced on the edge. No. 28 [65] has been entirely destroyed & a well has been sunk in the place where it stood – it probably [?] contained a castle forming the sequel to No. 27. No. 29 [65] In the upper part of this slab were horses led by warriors – Beneath them warriors bringing the heads of prisoners to scribes who are making a list – these are separated by a river from horsemen ascending mountains – No. 30 [66] has been drawn – The whole of the wall from No. 31 to 47 [67–82], except such as have been drawn, are in a very dilapidated state. The subjects of all these bas reliefs, as far as they can be traced from fragments, were sieges of cities & battles in a mountainous country. No. 32, 35, 36, 37, 39 [actually 41] & 45 have been drawn.

In this chamber, at the foot of slab No. 2 [47] were found several of the small pieces of clay impressed with cuneiform inscriptions.

[LN 1, f. 50r] Chamber D [Room XLV]

No. 1 [484] without sculpture – No. 2 [485] has been partly drawn – the remainder destroyed. No. 3 [486] a continuation of No. 4 – captives and warriors – but greatly injured – Nos 4, 5, & part of 6 [487–489] have been drawn. Of the remaining slabs only the lower part -?- [deleted] is preserved – containing a line of horses led by warriors – a specimen of these has been sent to England – a fisherman in a pond catching fish [490].

[LN 1, f. 51r] Chamber E [Room XLIII, eastern corner – see also KK]

What remains of Nos 1 & 2 [466–467] has been drawn. On the lower part of No. 3 [468] may be distinguished a row of prisoners & warriors & a mule – whippers in etc. A mule carrying two women on No. 4 [469] have been drawn; beneath are two archers followed by two bound [?] prisoners. On No. 5 [470] is the lower part of a chariot, surrounded by water with fish. Behind the chariot is a horseman, beneath trees and mountains. All these slabs have been greatly injured & the upper part of them all is wanting.

[LN 1, f. 52r] Chamber F [Room XVII]

Nos 1 & 2 [251] entirely destroyed. The lower part of these slabs remains, but the sculptures have suffered greatly & drawings not made. No. 3 [252] The King in his chariot – file of warriors

leading horses. No. 4 [253] Warriors bringing heads, scribes numbering the heads & other warriors following – beneath a procession of warriors. No. 5 [254] two lines of warriors. No. 6 [255] Castle on a river. No. 7 [256] Archers & warriors besieging a castle. On No. 8 [257] may be distinguished a led horse & three warriors following a chariot; beneath the group two other – the slab is covered with trees and mountains etc. No. 9 [258] a led horse and three warriors – on No. 10 [259] three warriors – on No. 11 [260] three women, prisoners. No. 12 [261] entirely destroyed – No. 13 [262] groups of warriors, -?- discharging arrows, may be distinguished – a river runs at the bottom of these slabs.

[LN 1, f. 53r] **Chamber G [later Chamber C – Room III]**

The basreliefs in this chamber celebrate the conquest of a city in the midst of palmgroves, standing on the banks of a river. Unfortunately all the slabs are greatly injured – in -?- [deleted] the W part of this chamber so much so that they can scarcely be traced. Of Nos 1, 2 & 3 [40] the lower part alone remains – a river, & horses walking on its banks may be traced. ([Footnote on 52v:] On 2 & 3 [40] may be distinguished horsemen & beneath them, at the bottom of the slab, a river.) No. 4 [41] has been drawn. No. 5 [42] warriors in a river may be traced. ([Footnote on 52v:] On No. 5 [42], preceding the King, 3 high capped warriors with the shield, as in No. 4 [41], & four archers.) On No. 6 [43] only a line of warriors can be traced. No. 7 [44] The King in his chariot, two rows of warriors beneath – the slab has been too much injured to be drawn. No. 8 [45] drawn. There are two lines of inscription on this slab – it is doubtful whether the lines were continued on No. 7 – no traces of characters remain on that slab. There is no mountain scenery in these basreliefs – the palmtrees appear on every slab.

[LN 1, f. 54r] **Chamber H [northern part of outer façade of Room I]**

The Bulls which form entrance [8] are better preserved than those of the other entrances, the upper parts & heads been [sic] still nearly entire [the heads appear to have been destroyed by the time of Cooper's drawing]. The inscriptions have been copied.

Nos 1 & 2 & the whole of the wall to the left of the Bulls have been purposely destroyed at the Bottom & edges of the slabs some traces of sculpture remain [11–10].

No. 3 [9] A gigantic winged figure more than 16 feet high – the head which was probably that of the divinity or genius with the horned cap, or that of an eagle, has been destroyed. The right hand, which probably held the fir cone, has also been destroyed – in the left is the usual basket.

The lower part of Nos 4, 5 & 6 [13–15] have fig [deleted] warriors galloping & horses with warriors leading horses & with chariots beneath. The horses are executed with very great spirit. I have made a paper cast of the [part ?] corrected to] best preserved.⁴ ([Footnote on 53v:] Ent[ran]ce a [later c, 12] is formed by two winged Bulls – the one adjoining No. 3 [9] has fallen down – the other has not yet been uncovered.)

[LN 1, f. 55r] **Chamber I [Court VI]**

The entrance [a, 61] to this chamber is also formed by winged bulls, the heads of which are wanting.

No. 1 [94] has been drawn. No. 2 [95] Contains three lines of warriors the first descending from the top of the slab, the two others proceeding corresponding line of previous slab – the upper [deleted] warriors have the usual pointed caps – Underneath them are vines and trees but injured – near river. A part of an inscription is on the slab – the rest was probably on No. 1 & the slab [?] appears to have represented the King.

All the remaining slabs appear to have been carved with lines of small figures extending from the top to the bottom of the slab – -?- in a hundred figures in the -?- rows of warriors, warriors in armour & horsemen alternately.

Layard Notebook 2C (LN 2C) – Add.MS. 39089 C,
folios 5–12

[LN 2C, f. 5v] **Plan (PLATE 18b)**

[LN 2C, f. 6r] **Ch[amber] I [Court VI]**

The Eastern wall to N of ent[ran]ce [a, 61]

Four slabs drawn representing build[ing] of mound [68–65, 158–155]. Then an opening that may have been a doorway [b, 154] – on one of the slabs is sculpt on side [edge of 64?, 153] – dig a portion [?] in & find nothing – -?- – preserved the slab with the previous work [184] – but not belonging to this plan. Two slabs beyond represent[ing] build[ing] of mound & removal of Bull drawn [64–63, 153–152]

North, turn[?]

Part of slab on ground – only trees & mountains visible but probably represent[ing] the moving of a bull [148] – from there to small ent[ran]ce [c, 145] – all slabs gone probably repr[esent]ed moving Bulls -?- [62–57, 150–146] – beyond small ent[ran]ce [c, 145] – slabs drawn (moving bull) to turn [55–54, 144] & -?- [deleted] colossal figures [d, 140] destroyed. [LN 2C, f. 6v] The slabs wanting to ent[ran]ce [53–50, 143–142] sculptured fragments appear to represent moving Bull with rafts &c above.

North Ent[ran]ce [49 + d + 48, 141–139] large figures flank[ing] with basket & fir cone – heads destroyed – small figures one above the other at side – figures hold pole surmounted by cone – have line of cimbil⁵ – men moved – near this entrance, carved stone basin,⁶ slab beyond drawn representing moving upright Bull [47–44, 136]

Ent[ran]ce [44 + 43 + e, 135–134] into Ch[amber] R [Room VII] – slabs having one colossal figure not winged – holding pole – Slabs [42, 133] between this ent[ran]ce & ent[ran]ce to P [Room IX] gone –

Ent[ran]ce [f, 131] to P [Room IX] two figures apparently one (the Western) fishgod – only part rem[ain]s

All Western wall [41–29, 130–119] fragments of slabs continuation of subj[ect] on Southern representing battle scene [LN 2C, f. 7r] in mountainous country with vineyards, cattle, prisoners &c – some fragments drawn

West Ent[ran]ce [37 + g + 36, 128–126] Bulls almost entirely destroyed fallen in fragments. Two colossal figures flanking only feet remain

West small en[tran]ce [h, 123] – two colossal figures – western fishgod only feet left

West ent[ran]ce [i, 120] three colossal figures facing E, centre with eagle claws, western with pole only lower part of bodies visible [?] – some winged –

West ent[ran]ce [j, 118] to J [Room XIII] – one colossal figure missing – only lower parts remain – remains of ent[ran]ce only bottom of slabs with warriors & captives in mountains [26 + 27 + 28, 117].

[LN 2C, f. 7v] From this ent[ran]ce to small [?] ent[ran]ce formed of lions [deleted; actually bulls of k], slabs [23–25, 116] all gone except bottom part evidently forming part of scenes continued to east of Bulls [Entrance k, 114] all of which have been drawn [20–18, 111–109] – west [east?] ent[ran]ce [l, 107] quite destroyed – Between Bulls with flanking figures doubtful so rather small figures by the side [22 and 21, 115 and 113?]

Ch[amber] J [Room XIII, not numbered or described elsewhere]
Walls almost entirely destroyed – not completely excavated on account of dilapidated state of sculptures – fragments represent mountains with trees, figures leading horses, & warriors & a hill with castle with ladders warriors mount[in]g to assault

Ent[ran]ce [a, 231?] to K [Room XIV] – four -?- – 2 figures facing East – the hinder has legs of Lion – the first is winged – [LN 2C, f. 8r] only lower part left

K [Room XIV]

All slabs of this chamber drawn except those near entrance which are destroyed – that to right being purposely obliterated – [233–247]

L [Room XII]

Kind of passage – slabs on North side drawn [11?–15, 225?–229] – except last & corner adjoining which merely represents slingers & archers in a row in a wooded mountainous country [16 + corner, 230] – the slabs on the S side & all the -?- [deleted] corners not drawn have only fragments of warriors & captives [1–9, 218–222]

Entrance from W [b, 223] – part of sculptures in M [Room XLVIII]. Warriors walking thro' water only very indistinct

[LN 2C, f. 8v] **M [Room XLVIII]**

Slabs drawn – except fragments on N side [4–6, 519] of which only bottom remains – appears [?] of warriors & chariots passing thro' water (1–3, 518) – All East side drawn [9–13, 522–525] – slabs on south side wanting [14, 526] – [north corrected to] south entrance [c, 527] all part of same subject – warriors carrying away tables, couches, & beds, very indistinct – on [East corrected to] South side beyond ent[ran]ce same subject [17–19, 528] – the West side – one slab missing the other drawn [20, 529] –

West entrance – two pedestals [517]. In the South [530] – river with small trees – palms & others as of a garden, above a horse

at the bottom of the slab trees much defaced – opposite slab gone [22? see 530]

N [Room XLII]

The first & second slabs on East Side [LN 2C, f. 9r] purposely defaced – of those on the West one or two have remains of mountains with trees – & horsemen descending – South Ent[ran]ce – two colossal figures facing South [295]

O [Gallery XLIX]

The South side completely destroyed. The fragments of a few slabs at East end purposely destroyed – The first slabs on the North side [534–536] – drawn beyond [?] found on ground lion head figure [531] – & fragments representing King superintending removal of Bulls & obelisk – with inscription above [532–533]

P [Room IX]

Very little remains of this chamber. On the fragments of slabs near second North ent[ran]ce are seen King in chariot with usual attendant & warriors bringing heads to scribes [204] – On some other fragments – warriors [LN 2C, f. 9v] passing in double file thro[ugh] water running thro[ugh] wooded mount[ai]ns.

First ent[ran]ce completely destroyed [208]

Second – 2 colossal figures fac[in]g East [209]

Q [Room X]

Only a few slabs remaining – in two forming S. E corner [5–6, 212] in upper part warriors driving away camels in lower captive warriors with children & men kneeling before Assyrian warriors, mountainous country – slabs at SW corner & return drawn – beyond lines of horsemen leading horses [213] – last slab before entrance Men bearing gods are partly drawn [214] – Ent[ran]ce [a, 215] completely destroyed – all west side in fragments with warriors & scribes receiving prisoners [LN 2C, f. 10r] & cattle [216] –

R [Room VII]

Only parts of sculptured slabs rem[ain]ing on W side drawn (chariots passing thro[ugh] water [5, 187]). On North side to ent[ran]ce – only [part corrected to] three[?] fragments remaining [7–9, 189–190] – a wooded mountainous country with footmen & horsemen passing thro[ugh] water – only remaining slab from NE corner – drawn [192] – return – horsemen leading horses uphill – E side destroyed – South side between E small ent[ran]ce Bulls [c–d, 145–140] drawn [12–14, 193] – the rest destroyed.

S [Room VIII]

Ent[ran]ce [a, 191] quite destroyed – South side only -?- fragm[en]ts with trees & mount[ai]ns until near East -?- where two slabs (drawn) on S wall procession of horse led by warriors [3, 201] [LN 2C, f. 10v] & the other interior [4, 200] – East side quite destroyed – where passage narrows two colossal figures facing west [10, 203], one (the west) apparently Lionheaded with raised righthand – , beyond a few fragments of led horses in a mountainous country – then scattered about the fragments with ships which have been drawn [11–13, 195–197, 199?]. On west

side only one fragment remains representing row of led horses in mountains over a river [14–15, 198]

T [Room LI]

U [Court XIX]

[LN 2C, f. 11r] **V [Room XXXVIII]**

Name [rough hand copy of cuneiform signs, see 452].

Ent[ran]ce to North[?] chamber Fishgods [g, 457] – Ent[ran]ce to W[est, d, 426] – two figures back with feet of Bulls

W [Room XLI]; see PLATE 17c for a possible plan of this room]

X [Room XL]

Y [Room XXXIX]

West side return archers – row of chariots, apparently horsemen [LN 2C, f. 11v] N side gone – also -?-

E [northeast part of Room XLIII] -?- -?- -?- upon 1st[?] drawn [466–467]

FF [in fact DD (Room XXXI)]⁷ Figure at entrance face hall [n, 360]

1st slab ent[ran]ce large [363?]

2 led horses 2 rows – trees & M[ountain]s above a -?-

3 D[it]t[?]o

4 – Char[i]o[t of King first to w[?] – sec[on]d led horses

5 defaced

6 – prisoners by river – men women & ch[ild]r[e]n kurd[?] dress short cropped hair as in ch[amber] EE [Room XXXII, e.g. 369] – M[ountain]s & trees above river & trees beneath [372?] [LN 2C, f. 12r]

7 Prisoners same -?-

8 Siege of castle – battering ram much destroyed

9 & 10 archers &c

11 double row of chariots

Layard's Notebook 2E (LN 2E) – Add. MS. 39089 E, folios 34v–29v (the notes written from f. 34v backwards) (see PLATE 18c–d)

[LN 2E, f. 34v] **VV [Room LXI]** – Ent[ran]ce to left lined by two alabaster slabs about 3½ feet Ent[ran]ce [603] 4 figures facing S – 2 eagle feet – last fishgod – paved with lime[stone]

SS [Room LVII] – S side [597] – castle in M[ountain]s – archers discharging arrows assault[?] women & prisoners leaving – women with high [sketch showing conical shaped headdresses] & long dresses – trees – N Ent[ran]ce [593] apparently sculptured with trees

UU [Room LIX] – Lower line mountains then river – the warriors fighting – horses & similar [600] Ent[ran]ce [h, 598] 2 figures facing E – second eaglefooted –

TT [Room LVIII] last S side large castle in mountains surrounded by rivers Assyrian warriors in possession of [LN 2E, f. 34r; see PLATE 18c] Towers. Carts drawn by Bullocks leaving castle [599]. Ent[ran]ce [g, 596] probably to N – 16 feet f[ro]m S. E. corner of SS [Room LVII] –

YY [in extreme southwest corner of palace; not numbered on Layard's plan] double lines of led horses & chariots – finely cut – chariot of King – palmtrees – Ent[ran]ce [a, 602] Bulls –

WW [Room LX] W side river & M[ountain]s – only traceable[?] – N side like Ch[amber] [blank space; reference to Room XXXVIII probably intended] warriors passing thro[ugh] water – inscript[i]o[n on slab [601] (2d f[ro]m Bulls) over castle burning – vines & other trees – streams [written above -?] in Mountains under Trees reversed

PP [in fact Room XXXIV (MM)]⁸ E Ent[ran]ce [k, 355] common stone – S Ent[ran]ce [m, 361] Fish God – opposite side destroyed – Castle on bank of river – on side – [LN 2E, f. 33v; see PLATE 18d] boats (ships) with shields – lines of prisoners warriors men behind castle women with [sketch showing profile of head with headdress] headdress men [sketch showing profile of head with headdress (PLATE 18d)] M[ountain]s & trees [see 422–426]

GG [Room XXIV] Ent[ran]ce [k, 269] to W of Bulls 2 figures facing N – the second fish God – In W Ent[ran]ce lines of horses led by Assyria[n] warriors [333] – between this Ent[ran]ce & Bulls – siege of city. Assyrians mount[in]g to assault with ladders – slingers archers [320] between Bulls [l, 268] & E Ent[ran]ce [m, 267] siege of castle with battering rams [321] – beyond Ent[ran]ce ships [322] – 2 slabs on East side interior (will be drawn) horses feeding [LN 2E, f. 33r] sheep reposing – Men making beds on ground – mules – Bulls masses of corn – water beneath castle [324] -?- -?- – S side to first ent[ran]ce led horses [325] – First ent[ran]ce on south side [d, 326] – 2 figures facing N – first fish god second lion legged – Slabs behind (same ent[ran]ce) prisoners women. Between them Bulls & Lions fine chariot with King preceded [sic] by usual warriors [327] – Ent[ran]ce Lion [c, 328]

LLL [Room XXVII] Between Lions [c, 328] & E Ent[ran]ce [d, 326] warriors bringing heads & leading prisoners by the beard – beneath them river & mountains with trees [336]. E Ent[ran]ce to GG [Room XXIV] two figures facing W – first winged figure. [LN 2E, f. 32v] 2 lion legged

MMM [Room XXVI] N side led horses, Prisoners E side siege of city [334]

NNN [not numbered on Layard's plan] destroyed

OOO [Room XXIII] Ent[ran]ce [n, 266] 2 winged [deleted] figures facing W – 2d fish god

JJ [Room XLVII] N side King & chariot [512] – followed by warriors leading horses [513–514] – drinking tents [514–515] as in II [Room XLVI] & prisoners – Musicians with psalion – harps before king [511] Mountain & trees – S side train of prisoners [510] coming from castle in mountains (trees) inscript[io]n over wall [508–509]. [LN 2E, f. 32r] [rough hand copy of cuneiform signs: KU *āla ina girri* (^dGIS BAR!) *aq-mu*, '(the) city I burned with fire' (reading by Dr I. L. Finkel)]. Ent[ra]nce 2 figures facing E [506]

II (Room XLVI)

Assyrians knocking heads into -?- 3. from E wall – [493–495] Last slab same side men with heads in second line – [496]

On East side cart rolling over warriors with shield & spears second row – legs 3d row – [497–499].

Slabs adjoining 1st ent[ra]nce to S – cart & men reposing – single woman & mule with her baskets [500] – Ent[ra]nce [a, 478] two figures facing S – 1st Fish God – second lion legged – beyond led horses [501] – 2 Ent[ra]nce [g, 476] 1st slab contin[ua]tio[n] of subject next lionlegged –

KK [Room XLIII] Camel [477] to left of 1st ent[ra]nce [LN 2E, f. 31v] W Ent[ra]nce [f, 472] 2 figures fac[ing] E, first winged figure with basket – second lion legged

LL [Room XLIV] led horse & (drawn) on W side prisoners [483]

AAA [Room XI] Lines of prisoners camels – bullocks – mountains & trees – 3 rows [217] –

KKK [Room LXVIII] corner (W) Siege of castle on hill [633] – warriors on horseback bringing prisoners by hair – ent[ra]nce [i, 632] [front?] [LN 2E, f. 31r] warriors mountains & trees [634] – Lion legged facing N [i, 632]. N side led horses [635] – 2 ent[ra]nce [g, 624] 2 figures facing N – 2d figure lion legged 1st winged with basket

DDD [Room LXV] line of Chariots in water between wooded hills on S side [623] – 1 Ent[ra]nce E [b, 605] – subject contin[ue]d & fish God – facing E between Lions [a, 610] & third ent[ra]nce [b, 615] – led horses – wood (?) [sic] burning warrior bringing wood – castle in river mount[ain]s & trees [616] Beyond N Ent[ra]nce [b, 615] return figures bearing spoil King on throne to -?- – [617] N.W Ent[ra]nce [c, 618] figures facing E. Beyond figures bearing spoil – umbrella with ch-?- castle in m[ountain]s trees [619] ([Footnote inserted before FFF on f. 30v: 2d Ent[ra]nce [e, 621] 2 figures fac[ing] E – 2d lionlegged).

EEE [Court LXIV] corner after first ent[ra]nce to S – slab drawn (carrying idols [606–608]) Ent[ra]nce with (?) Lions [610] – beyond lion [LN 2E, f. 30v] marsh scene drawn [611–613] 2nd Ent[ra]nce fish god facing E [615] –

JJJ [Room LXVI] Ent[ra]nce [c, 618] 2 figures facing S – 1st winged figure with basket 2d Lion legged. Led horses. Vineyards &c – much destroyed – with (?) hill (?) -?- [625]

FFF [Room LXVII] E side [631] – led horses – prisoners N side destroyed – W side [626–630] – led horses – interior – prisoners – M[ountain]s & trees – warriors & -?-.

[LN 2E, f. 30r] **GGG [Room LXX]** in corner drawn – beyond castle where lay burning city & towers[?] [652?] – on E side king in chariot [646] followed by warriors amongst palm trees – band above the river & siege of city [652?]. W & S sides long line of chariot [sic] (to be drawn [648–650]. W side -?- drawn [643]) – Ent[ra]nce [b, 641] of III [Room LXIX] continuation of subject -?- & figure facing W –

HHH [Room LXXI] destroyed

Ent[ra]nce [b, 641] between[?] III [Room LXIX] & GGG [Room LXX] two figures facing N.

III [Room LXIX] N side chariot warriors & prisoners – palm trees [640] E side – cutting down trees – castle figure with -?- to be drawn [637] [LN 2E, f. 29v] S side line of warriors first of warriors with circular shield – then archers then pointed capped warriors – chariot followed by led horses – amongst Palm trees [639]. S Ent[ra]nce [c, 638] 2 figures facing S – 2d Eagle legged figure

Appendix B – Archibald Paterson

Archibald Paterson was born on 21 March 1862 at Lasswade, the eldest son of James Paterson, colour maker and manager (from 1874) of a firm of carpet manufacturers at St Ann's, Lasswade, and his wife Annie, née Mitcher. From Lasswade Public School he entered Edinburgh University in 1880 in the Faculty of Arts and graduated as M.A. in 1888 with 2nd Class Honours in Classics. He then began to study for the ministry of the Free Church and became a licentiate. His first travels abroad were in 1892; these, it would appear from the scanty records, were to Rome.

In 1894 he was back at Edinburgh and entered the Faculty of Divinity at New College (founded in 1843 as a Free Church College), but in 1896–7 he was on his travels again, this time to Athens as a student of Christian Antiquities at the British School of Archaeology at Athens. In 1898 he graduated as a Bachelor of Divinity at New College, Edinburgh. However, his beliefs were now leading him elsewhere and after delivering two sets of lectures in May and November 1898 in the Faculty of Divinity at Oxford, on the Early Christian monuments of Rome, he was ordained a deacon of the Church of England in 1899 at Rochester, became a priest in 1900 and was appointed curate in Richmond, Surrey. In 1901 he became assistant curate of St Barnabas' Church, Sutton (Surrey), a position which he held till 1908. During this period, in 1900–01, he also travelled again; perhaps to Constantinople and Algiers which he is known to have visited. By now his interests in Christian antiquities had given way to a passion for Assyrian art, perhaps under the influence of Professor Gerard

Baldwin-Brown (professor of Fine Art at Edinburgh from 1880 to 1930). This gentleman was an archaeologist and art historian whose range of interests extended into Egypt and Mesopotamia and Paterson corresponded with him as a friend. Paterson planned to revive interest in Assyrian art by publishing through a Dutch firm, H. Kleinmann & Co. of Haarlem and Hatton Garden, London, portfolios of plates in collotype illustrating the Assyrian sculptures dispersed in Paris, London and Berlin, as well as in other public and private collections. Paterson started his project in 1901; he proposed to bring out 12 parts, each containing 15 collotype plates. By 1907 he had succeeded in publishing 9 parts with 127 plates, showing more than 80 sculptures of the Neo-Assyrian period, housed in the Louvre and in the British Museum. These consisted of reliefs from the palaces at Nimrud, Khorsabad and Nineveh, and also some sculptures in the round. Short descriptions of the pieces illustrated were given in English, French and German. In this work Paterson collaborated with two unidentified German scholars, whose names are only given in abbreviation: K. v L. and H. P. L.

This activity lasted until 1911 and included a visit to Berlin in 1908–10 where he officiated as an assistant chaplain to St George's Church, but also studied Babylonian and Assyrian in Berlin University with a private tutor, and Arabic in the Oriental Seminar of the University. On his return in 1910 he was again appointed as curate at Richmond till 1911 when he became Licensed Preacher at Southwark Cathedral; and soon afterwards he began to prepare his *magnum opus*, the publication of the sculptures from the Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, as discovered by Layard. These Paterson published in Holland in a book which was issued also in parts between 1912 and 1915, entitled *Assyrian Sculptures – Palace of Sinacherib* (Paterson, 1915). It was a work of great value and importance. After this Paterson seems to have abandoned Assyriology and from 1916 devoted the rest of his life to his duties as Assistant Curate of St Mark's, Kennington, where, according to *The Times* obituary, he endeared himself greatly to all the parish. He was taken ill at Easter 1931 and died the following January aged 69. He was buried in Midlothian.

Appendix C – Notes on the artists responsible for the Original Drawings

Austen Henry Layard⁹ – (Paris 1817–London 1894). An extremely accomplished amateur. Numerous pencil drawings on white paper of all the sculptures found by him at Nimrud and Nineveh during the 1845–7 campaign, but only signed when fully finished. Usually in outline only, but very faithful. In the second campaign, 1849–51, he adopted the combined pencil-and-wash enhancement, often on coloured paper. Many signed drawings by him are preserved, whilst others are attributable.

Frederick Charles Cooper – professional artist (Birmingham? 1821–*circa* 1880). Selected by Layard's aunt and uncle, Mr and Mrs Benjamin Austen; he was appointed and sent out with Hormuzd Rassam by the Trustees to join and assist Layard in his second campaign. They met at Constantinople in early

August 1849, and then travelled together with Dr Sandwith to Mosul, arriving there in September. He started work at once on slabs found in Layard's absence by Ross and Christian Rassam, and completed twenty drawings by 20 March at Nimrud and Kuyunjik. He suffered poor health, and collapsed while staying in Van (July 1850), and was sent home. The burden of completing his work fell on Layard, who considered him lazy, indolent and a failure. 'The two did not get on, and Layard seems to have taken credit for some of Cooper's drawings.'¹⁰ After his return, he exhibited in the Suffolk Street Gallery, the British Institute and the Royal Academy, London.

There are very few signed drawings by Cooper (**136b**, **200a–201a** and **277a**), but many attributable, and there may be some signed by Layard. He was very faithful and neat, favouring pencil with white enhancement on coloured paper. Many of his signed sketches were engraved as illustrations in *Nineveh and Babylon* (Layard, 1853a).

Thomas Septimus Bell – professional artist (?–1851). He was appointed by the Trustees to replace Cooper, arriving at Mosul on 18 March 1851 (but note that Or.Dr. IV, 32 is dated 15 March). Layard wrote to Ross, 'he draws nicely and seems anxious to do all in his power, but he is very young and raw – a thorough Cockney' (Layard Papers XI (396), Add.MS. 38941). He drowned in the Gornal River at Bavian on 13 May 1851. There are two marked and signed drawings (Or.Dr. IV, 10 and 32; see **61d**, **606a–608a**) and others are attributable.

The Reverend Solomon Caesar Malan – (Geneva 1812–Bournemouth 1894). A highly competent amateur artist, traveller and Biblical scholar, he visited Mosul from 10–20 June 1850, when he made a series of rather impressionistic sketches in pencil and water-colour at Kuyunjik and Nimrud (see p. 10 above). The relevant information was collected by Gadd (1938).

Henry A. Churchill – (?–?). An amateur artist of execrable quality. He was attached to the Turko-Persian Boundary Commission, and evidently worked at Kuyunjik in 1851–2(?) in ignorance of what Layard and others had already drawn. He worked in pencil on white paper, and although his drawings are occasionally of some use, he had little feeling for the Assyrian style. All his drawings are signed (Or.Dr. II, 37–43, 56–64 and 66–75. They appear in the catalogue under the following numbers: **83–86**, **100b–104b**, **108b**, **121b–122b**, **132**, **205a–206a**, **225a–226a**, **227b–229b**, **229c**, **231a**, **240c–241c**, **243c–245c**, **246b**, **520b**, **553b–554b**).

Charles Doswell Hodder – professional artist (?–?). A friend of Bell, he was appointed by the Trustees in December 1851 and arrived in Mosul on 10 April 1852, assisting Loftus and then Hormuzd Rassam at Nimrud and Nineveh. He fell ill in 1853, and was sent home early in 1854. Layard complained bitterly of the unsuitability of the choice. There are several signed or initialled drawings: **252a–253a**, **658a**, **659a–b**, **660a**, **662a–664a**, **670a**, **671a**, **673a–674a** and **694**, and many others

are attributable. They are moderately faithful, but the figures are rather stiff.

William Boucher – professional artist (Broadclyst, near Exeter 1814–Maidenhead, Berkshire 1900). A trained architect and surveyor who had studied in Italy, he was appointed by the Assyrian Excavation Fund in 1853 to assist Loftus at Warka, and was later transferred to the Trustees' service in March 1854 to work with Hormuzd Rassam at Kuyunjik. He returned to England early in 1856. There are many signed drawings (one signed in Arabic – Or.Dr. I, 22), of excellent quality and faithfulness, worked in pencil and water-colour, but most of his work was in the North Palace of Ashurbanipal and he does not seem to have drawn any of the reliefs in the Southwest Palace. The initials WB or MB which appear on some of the drawings are probably not his (see note to 369b on p. 94).

Appendix D – L. W. King's Photographs of the Southwest Palace at Nineveh

In addition to L. W. King's correspondence of 1903 and 1904 with E. A. W. Budge concerning his excavations at Nineveh, the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum also holds a set of photographs made by King on the mound of Kuyunjik, presumably in 1903 and 1904. Although these photographs are not of good quality, the emulsion having broken down rather badly in some instances, they represent unique documentation of the state of the sculptures in the Southwest Palace at that time.

A number have been selected for publication; these seem to provide the most important evidence concerning the reliefs, and the early methods of excavation. Because most of the photographs have been taken in a very limited number of rooms, it has been possible to identify the reliefs on most of them. They appear in the catalogue under the following numbers:

Forecourt H – 4b, 8d
 Throneroom I (B) – 20b, 22a–b, 23a, 24a, 29a–b, 30b–d, 32a, 33a, 35a, 36b
 Room V (G) – 47a, d–e, 61a–b, 65a–b, 66b, 68b, 69a, 70b, 71b, 76b
 Room XLV D – 487b, 488b, 489b–c
 Southwest side of the Palace? – 786–789

Appendix E – Plans of Nineveh showing the Southwest Palace

Catalogued here are the principal maps and plans relative to the study of the Palace of Sennacherib: in the first place general plans of the site of Nineveh, secondly those of the mound of Kuyunjik, and thirdly those of the palace alone or parts thereof.

I. General Plans of Nineveh

(a) *Nineveh with the enceinte of the modern Mosul by Felix Jones* (PLATE 1). The best general survey plan of Nineveh and its

surroundings, even today, is that made in 1852 by Commander Felix Jones of the Indian Navy.¹¹ In 1850 Layard had proposed that Jones, then based in Baghdad, should be invited to make a series of surveys in the Mosul area and, when permission to do this was granted by the East India Company, he proceeded to Mosul in April 1852 with Rawlinson, and carried out this work with the assistance of a Dr Hyslop (Gadd, 1936, p. 83). His plan of Nineveh shows 'Koiyunjik' with some outlines of Sennacherib's palace (which unfortunately do not correspond with Layard's plans) together with the captions *house of records* – i.e. Room XL, *hall of bulls* – Court XIX, *Temple of Victory* – Room XXXII according to Paterson (1915, p. 9), and the mysterious *Chamber of Elephants*, which remains unidentified.

(b) *Map of Nineveh*. A small-scale plan based on the above, published by Campbell Thompson and Hutchinson in *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh* (1929a, plan 1). This does not show any details of buildings on the mound of Kuyunjik, but does mark the sites of the fifteen city gates identified by Campbell Thompson (Scott & Macginnis, 1990).

II. The Mound of Kuyunjik

(a) *Plan of the Mound of Koyunjuk and its Excavations by Lieut A. G. Glascott, R. N. April 27th 1849* (PLATE 2). Kuyunjik appears to have been first surveyed in 1849 by Lt Glascott of the Royal Navy,¹² whose original plan is preserved in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities (*Plans* no. 10). It is executed in ink and water-colour wash on white paper (size 59.7 × 41 cm; scale 1:1400). In 1853 it was published in miniature, in a revised version, inset by Layard in his plan of the palace in *Nineveh and Babylon*. Along the left side of the manuscript plan is shown the *Plan of the subterranean excavation now in progress*. This strangely distorted sketch plan shows parts of Rooms XII–XIV in the south corner of Court VI, where Christian Rassam and Toma Shishman were excavating in Layard's absence after the departure of Ross.

(b) *Plan of the Mound of Kouyunjik executed by Boucher in 1855 for Loftus on behalf of the Assyrian Excavation Fund*, and now in the British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add.MS. 21258 B (size 61 × 95.3 cm; scale 1:1920). Both the North and Southwest Palaces are shown, with Layard's discoveries in red, Rassam's in yellow, and those of Loftus in blue. It was first published by Rassam more than forty years later, in his *Ashur and the Land of Nimrod* (1897, facing p. 8).

(c) *Map of the Mound of Kouyunjik, the site of Nineveh* (PLATE 3). A contour plan of Kuyunjik executed by L. W. King (1903–4), with later discoveries added by Campbell Thompson. The original is now in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities (size 124.5 × 188 cm; scale 1:500, with the contours at 1 m vertical intervals). As well as the plans of the North and Southwest Palaces, it shows the lines of trial pits excavated by King, and 'Sennacherib's East Building' or *bit nakkapti*, and the Nabu Temple later found by Campbell Thompson. It was first published by Barnett (1976, text-plate 1:2).

(d) *Map of the Mound of Kouyunjik* (PLATE 4). A much reduced version of the preceding published by Campbell Thompson and Hutchinson in *A Century of Excavations at Nineveh* (1929a, plan 2). This only shows the basic outlines of the two palaces.

(e) *Plan of the Excavations on Quyunjiq* (PLATE 5) by Campbell Thompson (1934, p. 96, fig. 1). This was probably based on King's plan (II (c) above), but with the contours indicated only by short vertical strokes. The outlines are shown of all the principal buildings as excavated by 1932, the main addition to the earlier plans being the Ishtar Temple.

III. The Southwest Palace alone or parts of it

(a) *Plan of Excavated Ruins at Kouyunjik* (PLATE 8), published by Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains* II (1849a, facing p. 124, scale approximately 1:400, with incorrect orientation). This plan represents that part of the Southwest Palace excavated by Layard towards the end of his first campaign in Assyria in 1847, together with some of the discoveries made by Ross after Layard's departure to Europe. The rooms are referred to by the letters A-I, with the letters of Rooms C and G mistakenly transposed.

(b) *Plan of Excavated Chambers at Kouyunjik* (PLATES 6–7). An unpublished manuscript plan, most probably executed by Layard himself, now in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities (*Plans* no. 21). It is drawn in ink on two sheets of paper (71 × 101.5 cm and 38 × 64.8 cm; scale 1:192), now glued together inaccurately, with some notes and restorations in pencil. The orientation is not marked. This plan represents the discoveries made by Layard during his second campaign in Nineveh (1849–51), and does not include those shown on the preceding plan. It was probably drawn on his return to England, based on his notes and sketch plans made in the field. The rooms and courtyards are referred to by the letters I–Z, AA–ZZ, and AAA–OOO, and thus this important document provides the key to the cross-identification of the letter and numeral references to the rooms, especially necessary in the interpretation of Layard's Notebooks, which also use letters, in relation to his final plan (PLATES 10–14) which uses Roman numerals. Originally the MS plan was orientated with north in the upper left corner (as published here), as indicated by the captions of the rooms, but was later reversed to conform with the two published versions on PLATES 8 and 10–14. Due to the limited area of the two sheets used for this plan, certain sectors of the building were drawn out of context (the Grand Entrance to Room B, Rooms XX, MMM–OOO, the southwest end of T, and GGG–III).

(c) *Plan of Excavated Chambers of Kouyunjik* (dated 1852) (PLATES 10–14), published by Layard in *Nineveh and Babylon* (1853a, plan I, facing p. 67), scale 1:600. This is based on the two preceding plans with, inset in the lower right corner, a reduced version of Glascott's survey of the mound of Kouyunjik (II (a) above), to which has been added in outline the plan of Sennacherib's palace. The orientation is shown, south being in the upper left corner.

This plan shows the entire palace as excavated by 1851, both by Layard and also by Ross, Christian Rassam and Toma Shishman during Layard's absence between his two Assyrian campaigns. The rooms and courtyards are here referred to for the first time by Roman numerals, I–LXXI, as throughout *Nineveh and Babylon*; but in the case of those rooms already shown in the earlier plan (III (a)) the letters are also added in brackets. The reason for this change was that the letter system had now become too complicated, and some symbols were liable to confusion, e.g. VV with W, etc.

A note on the plan reads 'The shaded parts are the remains of building actually excavated – those in outline, restoration.' The walls shown in outline are indicated either by unbroken or by dotted lines.

This plan is also reproduced in Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh* II, pl. 71 (dated 1853, but otherwise the same; see fold-out at end of present volume), and in the abridged version of *Nineveh and Babylon* (plan I on p. 4). In the latter there is no room numbered LXX, but that shown as LXX in the original version is here LXXI, and LXXI becomes LXXII.

(d) *Ground-Plan of the Palace built by Sinacherib* (PLATE 15) published by Paterson in his *Assyrian Sculptures – Palace of Sinacherib* (1915, folding plan), based on the preceding, but without making the distinction between walls actually found and those conjecturally restored: all are shaded alike.

(e) *The South-west Palace of Sennacherib, Kouyunjik* published by Campbell Thompson and Hutchinson in *A Century of Excavations at Nineveh* (1929a, plan 3), based on Layard's plan III (c) above, but with the reversed orientation as in III (b), with north in the upper left corner. The later discoveries of King and Campbell Thompson are also shown: part of a Grand Entrance to the southwest of Rooms LIII and LIV, and the 'New Chambers' to the northwest of Room XLIX.

(f) *New Chambers on N. W. side of Sennacherib's Palace* (PLATE 9a) published by Campbell Thompson and Hutchinson in *A Century of Excavations at Nineveh* (1929a, plan 4), showing in greater detail the area excavated by King and Campbell Thompson, based on sketch plans in King's notebook now in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities.

(g) *Part of Sennacherib's Palace, restored*. An outline sketch plan by J. E. Reade (1979a, p. 87, Abb. 9; 1980, p. 79, Abb. 3), based on Layard's plan III (c) above. The palace is orientated with north in the upper left corner, and little distinction is made between walls actually discovered and those restored. An outer columned façade is restored to the southwest of Room LIV, and columns are also restored in the internal doorways of the suite to the southeast of Court XIX, Rooms XXIV–XXVI.

(h) *Nineveh, Kouyunjik, Palace of Sennacherib, Rooms I–V*, as re-excavated by the Iraq Department of Antiquities (PLATE 9b), executed by Tariq Madhloom (1967, pl. IX; 1972, pl. 23; 1976,

pl. 7). The scale shown is evidently incorrect (see below Chapter 3, n. 6). The orientation is the opposite to that in PLATE 8.

Concordance of the plans in this volume, in Barnett, 1976 and Russell, 1991

<i>Plan</i>	<i>This Volume</i>	<i>Barnett</i>	<i>Russell</i>
	PLATE		
I (a) Jones, 1852	1	text-pl. 1:1	
(b) Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson (1929a)			
II (a) Glascott, 1849	2		
(b) Boucher, 1855		text-pl. 9	
(c) Campbell T. & King, 1903-05	3	text-pl. 1:2	
(d) Campbell Thompson & H. (1929a)	4		fig. 45
(e) Campbell Thompson (1934)	5		
III (a) Layard (1849a)	8		fig. 21
(b) Layard, 1849-51	6-7		
(c) Layard (1853a)	10-14		pp. 344-7
(d) Paterson (1915)	15		
(e) Campbell Thompson & H. (1929a)		fig. 1 (p. 2)	fig. 24
(f) Campbell Thompson & H. (1929a)	9a		fig. 25
(g) Reade (1979a)			
(h) Madhloom (1967)	9b		

Descriptions of Layard's Notebook sketches, supplied by Geoffrey Turner

PLATE	<i>Sketch</i>
17a	<i>LN 2A, f. 58r</i> Two sketch plans: the upper probably shows the southwest parts of Rooms XXXVIII and XXXIX; the lower sketch probably shows the southwest façade of Court XIX drawn in three sections.
17b	<i>LN 2A, f. 59r</i> Sketch plan of the southeast wall of the descending passage, Room LI.
17c	<i>LN 2A, f. 59v</i> Sketch plan, probably of Room XLI.
17d	<i>LN 2A, f. 60</i> Two sketch plans, the upper showing an as yet unidentified doorway; the lower one part of a room furnished with a recessed niche, probably Room XL.
18a	<i>LN 2A, f. 57</i> Sketch plan, probably of the Southwest Palace, but the exact location as yet unidentified.
18b	<i>LN 2C, f. 5v</i> Sketch plan of Rooms VI-X, XII-XIV, XLVIII-XLIX, XLII.

Notes

1. This term is traditionally applied to all MSS which have entered the Department of Manuscripts subsequent to the Museum's acquisition of the original founding collections (Sloane, Harley, Cotton, Egerton MSS, etc). These collections have independent catalogues.
2. These are mostly reproduced in Barnett, 1976, as are those from vols VI and VII which also illustrate sculptures from the North Palace (Barnett, 1976, p. 68).
3. Published by Barnett (1976, list p. 68).
4. BM WA 124790 (Paterson, 1915, p. 3 and pl. 98, and see below 13-15). Part of the original is in Warsaw (see below 14c). Paterson's statement (1915, p. 3) that these casts 'are now of no value' is of course untrue, unless he meant of commercial value, which is most doubtful.
5. I.e. basket-carriers who remove the excavated earth, from the Turkish *zembil* 'basket'.
6. Perhaps the basin with figures in relief representing heroes fighting lions (Layard, 1853a, p. 595).
7. [According to Layard's MS plan (PLATE 7) FF is Room XXXVIII; Barnett believed that the reliefs described here belonged in fact to the western part of Room XXXVIII. However, in Russell's transcription of Add.MS. 39077 this description is attributed to Room DD (XXXI) and this agrees with Layard's description (1853a, p. 462). DC]
8. [According to Layard's MS plan (PLATE 7), PP is Room XXXV; but he states elsewhere that this room was not investigated before his departure from Nineveh (Layard, 1853a, p. 445). It would appear that in fact he is describing MM (Room XXXIV) which is not mentioned elsewhere in the notebook, and Russell's transcription of Add.MS. 39077 confirms this (Russell, 1995, p. 82). DC]
9. Christened Henry Austen, but Layard subsequently altered his name to Austen Henry.
10. Mallalieu, p. 70. [His diary, covering the period 1 January to 22 August 1850, was presented to the British Museum in 1988 by his great-great-grand-daughter Mrs I. L. Coldstream. It is kept in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities. A water-colour by him of a raft carrying an Assyrian winged bull on the Tigris is in the Searight collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Llewellyn, 1989, p. 48, and cf. p. 14). TCM]
11. *Selections From The Records Of The Bombay Government* XLIII (1857), New Series, p. 404. Layard himself did not make a general plan of Nineveh (Layard, 1853a, p. 657 note), only reproducing on a much reduced scale that of Rich (Layard, 1853a, p. 658).
12. Gifford Glascott entered the Royal Navy in October 1821, was commissioned as lieutenant in 1841, but was not employed. He was later appointed as engineer to the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission under Col. Williams who permitted him, whilst en route to Baghdad, to survey Kuyunjik (Layard, 1853a, p. 76).

CHAPTER 3

The Architecture of the Palace

GEOFFREY TURNER

The account in Chapter 1 of the discovery of Sennacherib's Southwest Palace on Kuyunjik shows that this building was subjected to 'excavation' on numerous occasions, first by Layard in 1847, and then intermittently until the present day. Unfortunately the quality of these investigations has varied considerably; in several cases, such as the investigations of Hormuzd Rassam, Smith and Budge, the sole purpose was little more than to hunt for tablets and museum-type objects with almost no regard for the structural remains. Similarly the records of these excavations, whether published or still in manuscript note form, are too often cursory. Even in the case of Layard, whose work on this building is by far the most important and valuable, there are a number of discrepancies both in his accounts and his plans. It is to be remembered that in his first expedition to Assyria, Layard's main work had been directed to Ashurnasirpal II's Northwest Palace at Nimrud, a relatively smaller and more compact building, with its orthostats for the most part in a good state of preservation. However at Kuyunjik the Southwest Palace sprawled over a huge area,¹ and many of the sculptures had suffered badly from the effects of fire and the passage of time. Layard was little prepared or experienced to excavate under such conditions; and an analysis of his various notes, plans and published accounts shows several instances of confusion, and even an apparent lack of interest in making a full record of his discoveries. For much of the time when the excavations were in progress, Layard was not actually on the spot at Nineveh, but was working at other sites as well as making trips and forays into the surrounding countryside. On his return he would then make whatever notes and drawings he deemed necessary, or had time for.

The plan of the Southwest Palace is further complicated, as often happens with a building of this type and size, in that the original concept was added to and altered in the course of construction. This is not only evident from the various versions of Sennacherib's building inscriptions, which span the period of some ten years during which the palace was being built; but we also know that his successors continued to use the palace after his death, making further additions and alterations to the original plan and decoration.

In the following notes on the architectural remains of Sennacherib's palace, the principal intention is simply to set out what is known of the actual discoveries, analysing the reports and plans of the various excavators, both published and unpublished, and indicating where necessary any inaccuracies or discrepancies. No attempt is made to determine the constructional sequence of the different sections of the palace, and to establish whether they represent the original edifice dating from Sennacherib's reign, or the additions and alterations made by his successors. Nor is any attempt made to describe and discuss such matters as building techniques, reconstruction of elevations, or forms of mural decoration.

In this account frequent reference will be made to Layard's three plans of the Southwest Palace: namely that showing the results of his first investigations at this site (1849a, I, facing p. 124 = PLATE 8); his manuscript plan, now in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, showing the discoveries made in the course of his second expedition to Kuyunjik (PLATES 6-7); and thirdly the published version of the latter (1853a, folding plan = PLATES 10-14). Reference will also be made to the plans and sketches of Layard's successors at Kuyunjik, listed above in Chapter 2, Appendix E.

General Outlines of the Palace

The considerable size of the existing plan of Sennacherib's palace may give the impression that it represents a greater part of the complete building. However, comparison with other Late Assyrian palaces makes it evident that only the 'State Apartments' have as yet been excavated, although in fact these are more extensive than in any other palace of this period yet discovered. The basic plan of a Late Assyrian palace or large private residence consisted of two distinct sectors, in most cases each disposed about one of the main courtyards of the building (Loud, 1936, pp. 153-60 repeated in Loud & Altman, 1938, pp. 10-13; Turner, 1970b, pp. 177-213). Around the outer and larger courtyard were the administrative offices, service quarters, storerooms and stabling, etc., and around the more secluded, central courtyard, a series of

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE PALACE

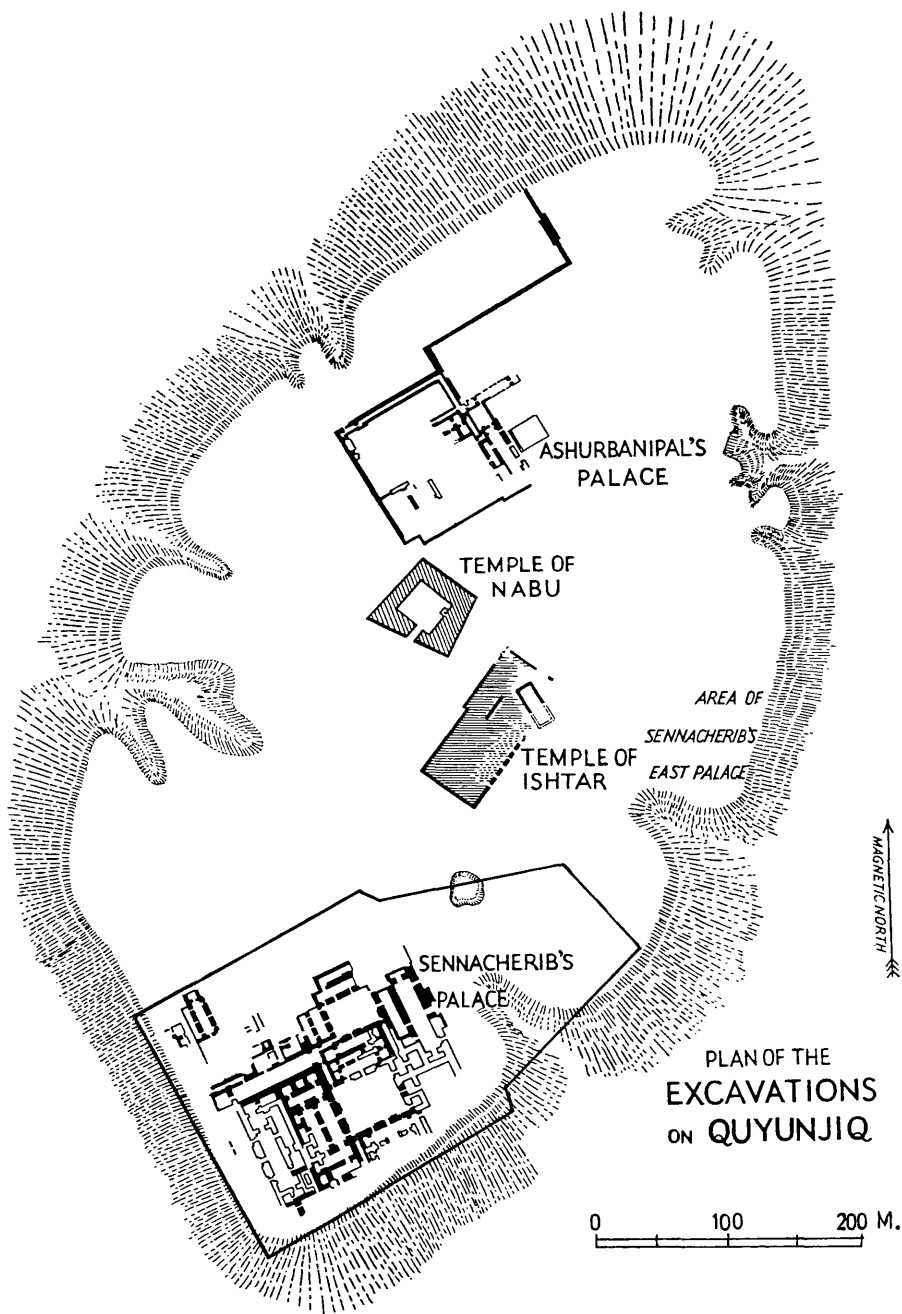


Fig. 1 Reconstruction of the outlines of the Southwest Palace based on Sennacherib's building inscription of 700 BC, superimposed on Campbell Thompson's plan of Kuyunjik (PLATE 5).

reception suites, which were either ceremonial or more commonly sets of self-contained residential quarters. Between and connecting the two sectors lay a group of rooms which, by reason of their superior dimensions, decoration and fittings, can be identified as the 'throne room' or principal reception suite. This basic plan was easily adaptable; and where required additional courtyards led off the two main courts, the size of each palace depending upon the needs and resources of its occupants.

Following this architectural order, Rooms I–V of Sennacherib's palace are here identified as the throne room suite, opening off the unexcavated forecourt to the northeast, and leading through into the first inner court, VI. The size of the inner sector or central courtyard area of this palace is exceptional in that so far three main courts have been discovered here, VI, XIX and LXIV, and there were evidently further halls also opening off terraces to the southwest and southeast.²

Although little of the area to the northeast of Room I has been investigated, an idea of the extent of the palace can be gained from Sennacherib's inscriptions which describe its construction and embellishment. Luckenbill has published five principal versions of this account, written over a period of almost ten years, during the course of the construction of the palace. Each gives the dimensions of the building, but with some variations:

Text i

(written 703/2 BC) – $60 \times 34 \text{ GAR} = 720 \times 408$ cubits (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 96, line 76).

Text ii

(written 702 BC) – 700 cubits on the side, 162 to the north, 217 on the inner front and 386 on the south, Tigris side (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 100, lines 50–1).

Text iii

(written 700 BC) – 700 cubits on the side, 176 to the north, 268 opposite the Ishtar Temple, 383 to the west of the ziggurat of the Ishtar Temple, and 386 on the south, Tigris side (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 102, lines 77–9).

Text iv

(written 694 BC) – 700×440 cubits (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 106, col. VI, lines 11–12).

Text v

(undated but late) – 914×440 cubits (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 119, lines 19–20).

At first sight these figures appear quite inconsistent,³ but for the most part their divergencies can be rationalised. From the fullest set of figures, Text iii, it is seen that the palace was of an irregular five-sided outline: a long straight façade to the southeast, on the River Khosr side of Kuyunjik; a short wall on the 'north' or more correctly northeast side; a slightly longer wall adjacent to the Ishtar Temple; the northwest façade flanking the Ishtar ziggurat; and the southwest façade overlooking the Tigris (compare the outline of Residence M – Loud & Altman, 1938, pl. 73). Following this outline, the dimensions given in the five versions can be summarised in the following table:

	Southeast (Khosr) side	'North' side	Ishtar Temple side	Northwest side (ziggurat)	Southwest (Tigris) side
Text i	720 cubits		408		
ii	700	162 (= 379)	217		386
iii	700	176 (= 444)	268	383	386
iv	700		440		
v	914		440		

Texts i, iv and v simply give the basic overall measurements of the palace, and thus the 440 cubits of the shorter side in iv and v is to be equated with the 176 of the 'North' side together with the 268 cubits of the Ishtar Temple façade of text iii, these totalling 444 cubits. This indicates that the northeast façade was in fact formed of two walls set at a slight angle. The disparity in the lengths of these two northeast walls in texts ii and iii, 162 and 217 cubits in the former and 176 and 268 cubits in the latter inscription, probably represents an expansion of the palace made in the course of its construction between the years 702 and 700 BC. Likewise the 914 cubits given for the southeast façade in text v would also represent a subsequent extension. It is not clear whether this later addition was to the southwest as an extension of the palace terrace, or to the northeast in the forecourt area. Earlier in the same inscription Sennacherib records that, to enlarge the building, he prepared a new area of land by draining it of water, and on this fresh ground built up the palace platform.⁴ This could refer equally to either the southeast, Khosr side, or to the southwest, Tigris side, or in fact to both. Likewise in text iv he described the extra land as *ultu qereb* ^{nm} *Husur u tamerti ali* 'from (the bed of) the Khosr and the tilled plain/environ of the city' (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 105, col. vi, lines 2–3) which could again indicate either side of the south corner of Kuyunjik. The physical aspects of the tell suggest that this extension was more probably to the northeast, and Russell has proposed that part of this new wing had in fact been excavated by King and Campbell Thompson. This was the enigmatic *bit nakkapti* referred to by Campbell Thompson as 'Sennacherib's E. Building' or 'Sennacherib's East Palace' where the remains of an entrance façade were found (PLATES 4–5). However, excavations undertaken here by Russell in 1989 have proved inconclusive (Russell, 1991, pp. 84–6; Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929, pp. 64–6).

Our interpretation of the outlines of the Southwest Palace as given by Sennacherib in the various versions of his building inscriptions is restricted by the fact that as yet we do not know the exact length of the cubit in the Late Assyrian period. It is generally taken to be between 48 and 55 cm (*CAD* 'A', II, pp. 336–7; Russell, 1991, p. 79; Powell, 1982, pp. 106–23; Guralnik, 1996, p. 89), and following this a free reconstruction is shown in fig. 1, based on text iii (a similar reconstruction is given by Reade, 1978, p. 54, fig. 4 and also Russell, 1991, fig. 44). It will be seen that these dimensions on the whole correspond both with the existing plan of the palace and with the contours of Kuyunjik. In making

such reconstructions, it is to be remembered that almost no wall of a mud-brick building is in fact straight; and secondly that some façades would be broken by steps in their alignment. Also these measurements are taken from an inscription written in 700 BC, and thus several parts of the existing plan of the palace may well have been added in subsequent years, either by Sennacherib or his successors. In this proposed plan, the broken northeast façade is shown as crossing the deep pit excavated by Rassam, where he found a series of reliefs which had probably decorated a sloping passage connecting the palace to the Ishtar Temple (656-675; Rassam, 1897, p. 8). Although these orthostats were not found *in situ*, they probably lay close to their original position. At Khorsabad there was a similar direct connection between Sargon's palace and the Nabu Temple – in this case a simple ramp leading off the south corner of the palace platform (Loud & Altman, 1938, p. 56 and pl. 69). In Sennacherib's palace much of the forecourt area enclosed by this reconstructed northeast façade is now occupied by a wide wadi cutting into the side of the tell, as is likewise found in the same area of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud (Mallowan, 1966, plan I). This was probably caused by the collapse of the courtyard drainage system.

Forecourt – Court H (fig. 2)

The only part of the outer section or forecourt area of the Southwest Palace to have been excavated was the entrance façade to Room I, the throneroom. This lay on the southwest side

of Court H. During his first expedition to Nineveh, Layard uncovered a section of this wall (Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 137–8) and, on his departure to Europe, this work was continued by Ross. According to Layard (1849a, II, p. 138), Ross followed the wall to the northwest, that is towards the west corner of Court H, '... and discovered several other slabs and the openings into three new chambers, one entrance having, it appears, been formed by four sphinxes, fragments of which were found amongst the rubbish'. The accompanying plan (PLATE 8) shows the southwest wall of Court H continuing up to slab no. 14, and then turning at right angles to form the northwest wall of the courtyard. This wall is shown as broken, but it is not certain whether these gaps represent Ross' doorways. On his return in 1849, Layard again excavated along the entrance façade of Room I, but in his second report makes no mention of Ross' discoveries (Layard, 1853a, pp. 135–8) nor does he mark slabs 8–14 of the southwest wall of Court H on his later plan (PLATE 13).

Layard also records that Ross opened a trench at right angles to the end of the new wall in Court H, and at about 18 feet (5.50 m) from it found an immense square slab, similar to the throne dais discovered in Room B of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud (Layard, 1849a, II, p. 138). Probably because he is recounting these finds second-hand, Layard's description is again confused and it is difficult to determine the exact alignment of Ross's walls and trenches; and thus the position of the dais remains obscure. However, in Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud a throne dais was discovered in the South-East Courtyard, set at right angles to the throneroom, T 1

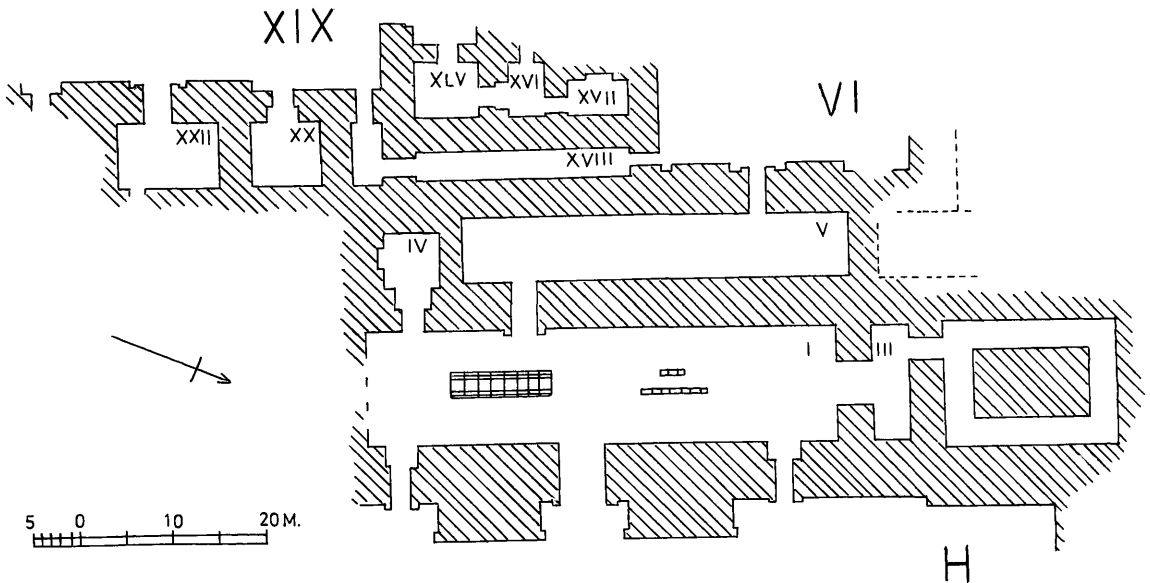


Fig. 2 Rooms I–V – restored plan.

(Mallowan, 1966, pp. 424–6). Thus if Layard's account is here interpreted correctly, that is with Ross's dais standing close to the northwest wall of Court H, then it was sited in the same relationship to the throneroom as that in Fort Shalmaneser. Furthermore in his description of the *ekal māšarti* on Tell Nebi Yūnus at Nineveh, Sennacherib records that he set up a richly decorated dais in the *kisallu rabū šaplānu ekal aban pīli* 'the great courtyard below the limestone wing', this probably being the courtyard off which opened the state apartments (Turner, 1970a, p. 73).

A further disparity in the accounts of Court H is in reference to the means of paving. Layard writes that he found a pavement of square limestone slabs (Layard, 1853a, p. 136), whereas 120 years later Madhloom reports having excavated a pavement of baked bricks bearing Sennacherib's stamp, over which Ashurbanipal had later laid basalt slabs (Madhloom, 1968, p. 50).

Throneroom Suite: Rooms I–V (fig. 2)

The standard Late Assyrian throneroom suite contained the main audience hall of the palace, which opened off the forecourt and led through a smaller parallel hall into the central courtyard. To one end of the throneroom lay a small ante-room giving onto a stairwell, and in the larger palaces of the 8th and 7th centuries a bathroom also led off the throneroom (Turner, 1970, pp. 181–94). In Sennacherib's palace, Rooms I–V are generally recognised as the throneroom suite, with the throneroom I opening off the outer courtyard H, and leading through the adjoining hall, Room V, into the first inner courtyard, Court VI. Room IV formed the bathroom, and a stairwell is possibly to be restored leading off III.

This group of rooms has been excavated on several occasions, starting with Layard in 1847, Room IV being the first room he unearthed when he commenced work on this building. In his absence, Ross continued investigating the outer façade of Room I, as has already been described; on his return to Nineveh in 1849 Layard finished clearing the main entrance to Room I. At the beginning of the present century these rooms were partly re-excavated by L. W. King; they were again cleared in the late 1960s by Dr Tariq Madhloom of the Iraq Department of Antiquities, exactly 120 years after their first discovery.

The accounts and plans of these different excavations, both published and unpublished, disclose a number of disparities in the dimensions and alignment of Rooms I–V, especially of Room V. Layard's two published plans (PLATES 8 and 13) show this hall as approximately 37.00 × 7.50 m; but fifty years later King noted that it was 15 to 20 feet (± 4.50–6.00 m) longer,⁵ while Madhloom gives its dimensions as 47.00 × 7.50 m (PLATE 9b).⁶ Fortunately these measurements were checked by J. M. Russell whilst working at Nineveh in spring 1989, and he found that Room V as uncovered by Madhloom is actually 42.25 m long by 7.40 m wide (Russell, 1991, p. 51). In fig. 2, the reconstructed plan of the throneroom suite, an attempt has been made to combine this varied data, and thus Room V with its extra length of 5.25 m is shown as projecting further both to the northwest and southeast than in Layard's plans. Accordingly the bathroom,

Room IV, is shifted further to the southeast, closer in alignment with the restored southeast wall of Room I. The doorway between Rooms I and V is also now set further to the southeast, and no longer almost opposite the central entrance from Court H into Room I, as in Layard.

On the MS plan (PLATES 6–7), which shows the results of Layard's second expedition to Nineveh,⁷ there is drawn the 'Grand Entrance' from Court H into Room I. Layard had first started excavating this in 1847, and completed it on his return to Nineveh in 1849 (Layard, 1853a, pp. 135–8); but since this plan does not include the discoveries of his first expedition, Rooms I–V are not shown and this façade is here drawn as a detached unit. Probably due to the simple fact that the two sheets of paper used for this plan were not large enough, this entrance is not set in its correct position in relation to Courts VI and XIX, but too far to the southwest, and thus too close to the newly excavated chambers.⁸

The throneroom, Room I, opened off the southwest side of Court H, facing northeast and thus shaded from the excesses of the Mesopotamian sun. It is the largest hall yet excavated in Sennacherib's palace, measuring 51 × 12.25 m (Russell, 1991, p. 47), and also, in fact, the largest hall yet excavated in any Late Assyrian palace; by comparison, the throneroom of Palace F at Khorsabad is approximately 50 × 10 m (Loud & Altman, 1938, pl. 75), that of Sargon's main palace at the same site is 47 × 10.50 m (Loud & Altman, 1938, p. 61), and that of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud is 46 × 10 m (Meuszyński, 1981, plan 3). Room I was approached from Court H by a triple 'Grand Entrance', an impressive central portal flanked by monumental winged bull colossi and 'Gilgamesh' figures, with a smaller doorway to either side. Of the southeast doorway, Layard's Entrance *b*, neither Layard nor Madhloom report finding any trace. However in spring 1990 J. M. Russell again cleaned this area, and found remains both of Entrance *b* and also of the east corner of Room I, establishing its length at 51 m (Russell, 1991, p. 47).

Running down the centre of Room I Madhloom found two sets of 'tram-lines' set to either side of the central entrance from Court H, one resting direct on the floor, the other on a row of flags (Madhloom, 1967, pl. IX). Such fittings are frequently found in Late Assyrian reception halls and were probably intended for a metal brazier fitted with wheels, which could be moved up and down the length of the room – a welcome installation in winter in northern Iraq (Turner, 1970b, p. 186).

Although no throne installation has been found in Room I, stone daises have been discovered in the thronerooms of five other Late Assyrian palaces: the Northwest Palace and Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud, the palace of Sargon and Palace F at Khorsabad, and at Til-Barsib, in each case set against the short wall to the left of the entrant.⁹ Layard records that this end of Room I had been completely destroyed by erosion (Layard, 1849a, II, p. 125), yet nevertheless restored here a wide doorway leading into a narrow chamber, Room II, thus balancing Room III at the opposite end of the throneroom (PLATE 8). Although he apparently found no evidence for this reconstruction and such a chamber is not found in the throneroom suites of the 9th- and 8th-century palaces, it is to be noted that in the two 7th-century

palaces so far excavated – Ashurbanipal's North Palace, also on Kuyunjik, and the modest Town Wall Palace at Nimrud – such an 'alcove' probably did exist (Turner, 1970, p. 194 and pl. XXXVIII; Barnett, 1976, p. 30). Heinrich has proposed that if the restoration of Room II is correct, it may indicate a change in court procedure introduced here by Sennacherib, in that for security reasons it was now deemed advisable that the king should sit in a separate room, less accessible to his visitors (Heinrich, 1985, pp. 176, 194). Madhloom makes no reference to this southeast end of Room I but, as mentioned above, Russell has recently found here traces of the east corner, but too little of the rest of the southeast wall to determine whether there was in fact an opening here.

The bathroom, Room IV, lay adjacent to Room V, towards the southeast end of Room I, as is also the case with the throneroom suites of the palaces and larger residences at Khorsabad (Turner, 1970b, pp. 190–4). One wall of Room IV was broken by a shallow recess, a characteristic feature of Late Assyrian bathrooms in which the floor-tile pierced for drainage was usually set, as was indeed found by Madhloom (1967, p. 78). He also marks a re-entrant in the east corner of the doorway into this chamber, which is not recorded on Layard's plans (Madhloom, 1967, pl. IX; see PLATES 8 and 13). Most of the orthostats of Room IV were decorated with scenes of soldiers and prisoners marching through a wooded and mountainous landscape. However, slab 11 (see 46) on the northwest wall opposite the shallow recess, was carved with the figure of a clean-shaven priest standing before a tripod, probably an altar but interpreted by Russell as a balance (Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 124–5; Russell, 1991, pp. 50–1 and fig. 30), possibly indicating that this room was used for ritual rather than everyday ablutions, or indeed for both (see also Turner, 1970b, pp. 192–4).

At the northwest end of Room I a wide opening led into the short chamber, Room III. Layard states that this was the only entrance, but at the same time adds that one side of the room had been completely destroyed (Layard, 1849a, II, p. 137). Madhloom plans this chamber as in Layard, but makes no mention of having actually excavated it. By analogy with other Late Assyrian palaces of which the plan is better preserved, this alcove would have given access to a stairwell, leading either to an upper storey or more probably to the flat roof of the palace (Turner, 1970b, pp. 189–90). It is therefore proposed that a doorway be restored in the northwest wall of Room III, close to the west corner, in that section where Layard does not number the orthostats, leading to a stairwell or ramp (see fig. 2). In support of this is the outward jog to be seen in the southwest wall of Court H, towards its west corner. There is a shallow projection at this point on the outer wall of the throneroom suites in Sargon's palace and Residences K, L and Z at Khorsabad and in the Arslan Tash palace (Turner, 1970b, pl. XXXVIII).

Further evidence for the reconstruction of a stairwell is possibly to be seen in Layard's second published plan (PLATE 13). In this he adds a number of restorations, some shown with straight unbroken lines, usually completing the line of a partly excavated wall, and others with dotted lines. On the plan it is stated that the walls shown only in outline are restorations, without differentiating between unbroken and dotted lines. None of these

restored lines appears on the MS plan (PLATES 6–7), except a few roughly sketched later in pencil. On the plan on PLATE 13, to the northwest of Room III, Layard shows in dotted lines the three sides of a rectangle with the fourth side open and, to the southwest, another dotted line. These 'restorations' can thus be easily redrawn to form a stairwell, as proposed in fig. 2. In concluding his account of his second expedition to Nineveh Layard records that 'Since my return to Europe other rooms and sculptures have been discovered. Both to the north [i.e. northwest] and to the east [i.e. northeast] of the ruins comprised in the plan, I had found traces of chambers, and fragments of bas-reliefs.' (Layard, 1853a, p. 589). In view of the fact that the structure indicated by dotted lines to the northwest of Room III conforms almost too closely to a stairwell to be coincidental, it is possible that the unbroken lines on PLATES 10–14 represent restorations, whereas the dotted lines show these later discoveries; and that Layard marked them in this tentative manner as he himself had not excavated them, and could not plot them accurately on his plan, having only Christian Rassam's description and/or rough sketches as a guideline.¹⁰

Court VI (figs 2–4)

Court VI, the first of the inner courtyards, was of rectangular outline, approximately 37.80 × 27.50 m (Layard, 1853a, p. 102). It was entered on the northeast from the throneroom suite through Room V. On the other three sides there were lesser reception suites, each with an audience hall opening directly off the courtyard through three doorways: an impressive central portal decorated with winged colossi and flanking side entrances. On the northeast façade Layard planned the doorway from Room V with a buttress on only one side (PLATE 13), an awkward architectural arrangement which is not found elsewhere in Late Assyrian palace buildings;¹¹ therefore in fig. 2 a second buttress has been added here. Layard notes that when excavating along this wall towards the north corner of the courtyard, after the fourth orthostat he found an opening; and since this fourth slab was also sculptured on its edge, he concluded that the wall was here broken by a doorway (154; Layard, *LN2C*, f. 6r). Alternatively this break may represent the end of the reconstructed buttress. Layard investigated for a short distance into this gap, and although he records that he found nothing here, his plan (PLATE 13) shows a number of walls in this area marked by dotted lines. Unfortunately there is again no indication as to whether these are only hypothetical reconstructions, or based on his or Rassam's later discoveries. It is to be noted that in his first plan (PLATE 8), Layard draws the buttress between the doorway into Room V and the east corner of Court VI as being of two orthostats' width, approximately 4.85 m, whereas in the later plan (PLATE 13) it is shown as approximately 7 m wide. There is no indication in his accounts as to the reason for this change, but both versions are feasible.

The sets of rooms on the northwest and southwest sides of Court VI are probably to be identified as self-contained residential suites, comparable to the series of *bays* found in Islamic palaces. Those opening off Court VI conform to the basic plan most frequently

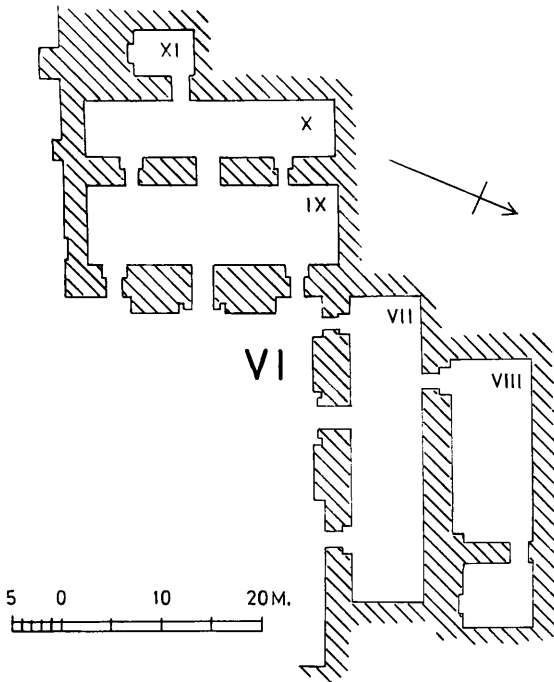


Fig. 3 Rooms VII–XI – restored plan.

used in Late Assyrian residential buildings, which I have elsewhere classified as ‘Reception Suite Type A’ (Turner, 1970b, pp. 194–9). This consists of a lateral reception hall opening off the courtyard and leading through into a smaller, parallel ‘retiring’ room, with one or more bathrooms connected to either or both halls. Of the suite to the northwest of Court VI, Rooms VII and VIII (fig. 3), the bathroom is to be restored at the northeast end of Room VIII. The northwest jamb of the doorway is marked by Layard as a pilaster in the northwest wall of Room VIII (slab no. 10); on the opposite wall between slabs 2 and 3 he found no orthostat, and here is to be restored the screening wall. The southeast wall, at slab no. 4, is marked by a recess, indicating the room’s probable function as a bathroom. Also in this suite, Layard noted that the doorway between Rooms VII and VIII was ‘quite destroyed’ (Layard, *LN* 2C, f. 10r), and thus the southwest jamb is to be restored with a re-entrant for the door, as on the opposite side.

Rooms IX–XI likewise comprised an outer reception hall leading through into a retiring room and bathroom. The plan of the latter, Room XI, is to be restored with a recess in the southeast wall, as partly shown by Layard, and with the northwest jamb of the doorway from Room X. Both this suite and that on the northwest side of Court VI possibly had other small subsidiary chambers, but due to the poor state of preservation of the walls these remained undetected by Layard.

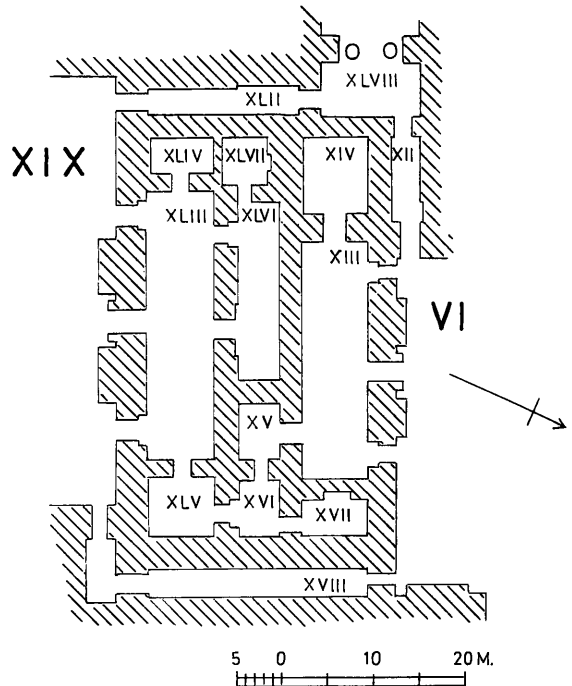


Fig. 4 Rooms XIII–XVII and XLIII–XLVII.

To the southeast a triple range of rooms lay between and possibly connected Court VI and the second inner courtyard, Court XIX (fig. 4). In the course of his first expedition to Nineveh Layard excavated Room XVII and parts of Rooms XVI, XLV and XLIII (PLATE 8); and in his second campaign Rooms XIV, XLVI and XLVII, and much of XIII, XLIII and XLIV (PLATE 13). The eastern sector was later re-excavated by King.

Basically this wing appears to be made up of two units: a reception suite of the ‘Type A’ variety opening off Court XIX, with Rooms XLIII as the reception hall, XLVI as the retiring room, and two bathrooms XVII and XLVII, their function indicated by the recessed walls.¹² The second unit consisted simply of a reception hall, Room XIII, opening off Court VI, together with one subsidiary chamber, Room XIV. In his second published plan (PLATE 13) Layard shows a small Room XV, reconstructed as linking the two units, but nowhere does he refer to this room, either in his field notes or in his published accounts; nor is it marked on his MS plan (PLATE 6). In his notes he does record that the orthostats of Room XIII were in such a poor state of preservation that he did not consider it worthwhile to excavate this room completely,¹³ and on the MS plan (PLATE 6) the southwest jamb of the doorway between XIII and XV is not marked, in contrast to the published version (PLATE 13). The restored doorway between XV and XVI is also only shown in

the latter plan. Later King re-excavated XV together with XVI, XVII and XLV (WAA departmental correspondence) but does not record whether he found Layard's plan accurate or in need of correction, as in other sections of this palace.

Another unusual feature of the group of rooms between Courts VI and XIX is the contrasting thickness of the walls of the bathroom, Room XLVII, shown thus in both Layard's MS and published plans (PLATES 6–7 and 13). He notes that the reliefs in this room, together with those in Room XLVI, were stylistically very close to those of Ashurbanipal, but, despite this, concludes that they probably date from Sennacherib's reign (Layard, 1853a, pp. 583–4). He also records that the orthostats lining the doorway into XIV had been prepared for recarving (Layard, 1853a, p. 73). This may indicate that the extant plan of these rooms does not represent the original layout as designed by Sennacherib's architects, but a later modified version, which in turn could account for the odd dimensions of the northwest and southeast walls of Room XLVII.

The interpretation of this wing of the Southwest Palace is thus much hampered by our fragmentary knowledge of its plan, and also by the lack of any close parallel in other Late Assyrian palaces. With the limited evidence available, it is tentatively proposed that it may have formed the residential quarters of an important court official, possibly the king himself, based on the inner courtyard, Court XIX; and since it was also necessary for the occupant to be able to receive those entering from Court VI, a second reception hall, opening off that courtyard, was appended to the rear of the suite.¹⁴

The two inner courtyards, Courts VI and XIX, were also connected by a series of corridors. Off the south corner of Court VI the short passage, Room XII, led into the connecting vestibule, Room XLVIII, and thence via Room XLII into the west corner of Court XIX (fig. 4). The northwest wall of Room XII was recessed close to the entrance from Court VI, to receive the door when open; and likewise in the southwest wall of Room XLII there was a wider recess, indicating that for additional security there were probably two doors here, one closing off the entrance from Room XLVIII, and a second shutting off the corridor midway. Layard records that the dimensions of Room XLII were 72 by 11 feet ($\pm 22 \times 3.35$ m) (Layard, 1853a, p. 342), this length evidently including the jambs of both its doorways, in contrast to the other rooms of this building where his stated measurements are invariably exclusive of doorways. For Room XLII the exclusive length would be approximately 53 feet (± 16.15 m), a difference of almost 20 feet (± 6 m). Likewise for Room XLVIII he gives the length as 24 feet (± 7.30 m) (Layard, 1853a, p. 103), but draws it approximately 10 feet (± 3.00 m) longer. This unusual discrepancy between his plans and account may have been either a simple error, or alternatively may indicate that when he came to draw the final plan based on his field notes, Layard was confused by his measurements due to the irregularity of the plan, the walls not in fact being in neat rows and with perfect right-angled corners as he wished to draw them. This might also account for the unusual thicknesses of the walls of the bathroom XLVII which lay adjacent to Rooms XLII and XLVIII. Layard also records of Room

XLII that two of the orthostats had been prepared for recarving (Layard, *LN* 2C, f. 9r), again evidence for a later refurbishment and possible rebuilding of this wing on a revised plan.

In the east corner of Court VI Layard discovered the jambs of a narrow doorway, and he has here restored, probably correctly, a passageway, XVIII, also leading through into Court XIX. It is to be noted that in his earlier plan (PLATE 8) he misaligns this doorway with the northwest wall of Room XVII, instead of with the southeast wall of Court VI, as correctly shown in the plans on PLATES 6 and 13 (see fig. 4).

Court XIX (figs 2, 4–6)

The second and larger inner courtyard, Court XIX, measured approximately 42.70×38.40 m (Layard, 1853a, p. 438). On the southeast and southwest sides Layard uncovered impressive façades each with a triple entrance, similar to those already seen in Court VI. Of the northeast façade he found little more than a central doorway decorated with stone colossi, and of the northwest evidently almost no trace survived. He is probably correct in restoring the latter as likewise with a triple entrance leading into Room XLIII of the wing lying between Courts VI and XIX as described above.¹⁵

Rooms XXIX–XLI (fig. 5)

The southwest wing of Court XIX was remarkable both for its rich decoration and especially for the symmetry of the layout. The surviving plan is the work of Layard;¹⁶ but since he discovered here a major portion of 'Ashurbanipal's Library', this area of the palace has been subjected to much re-excavation. Unfortunately his successors were only intent on finding cuneiform inscriptions, and have left us absolutely no additional information as to the structural remains. The plan basically consists of a triple range of rooms with flanking lateral chambers. The central element has two parallel halls, Rooms XXIX and XXXIV, the second slightly narrower; and a third much smaller, centrally placed room, XXXVI, the famous Lachish Room. The doorways connecting Court XIX and these three rooms lay on a straight axis, and were each adorned with winged bull colossi, all facing the entrant and of diminishing height; the first from Court XIX into Room XXIX being approximately 5.50 m high, and the third pair into XXXVI, 3.65 m (Layard, 1853a, p. 445). To either side of the Lachish Room there was probably a small room also opening off the inner hall. Of Room XXXVII Layard records that he found it in a poor state of preservation, and of Room XXXV that it was not investigated before his departure (Layard, 1853a, p. 445). Unfortunately we do not know whether this implies that his workmen did in fact excavate it later, with Rassam sending him the details. However, it is shown as restored on both the MS plan and the published version (PLATES 7 and 10), an unusual feature for the former plan in which only a few of the most obvious reconstructions are made.

To the northwest is a hall opening off both Rooms XXIX and XXXIV, giving access to three small chambers; one of these, Room XL, was probably a bathroom, there being a recess in its

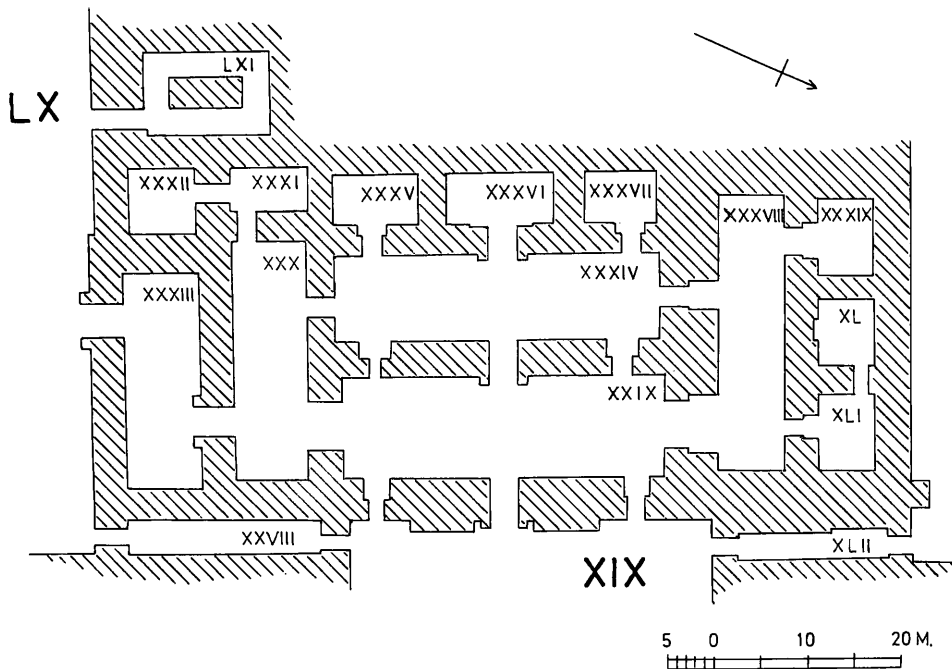


Fig. 5 Rooms XXIX-XLI.

southeast wall. Layard's description of these rooms is unusually brief, and he did not even record their dimensions, in contrast to almost all the other parts of the palace excavated in the course of his second visit to Nineveh. Furthermore, for the adjoining hall XXXIV he only gives the width (Layard, 1853a, p. 445), and for the outer hall, Room XXIX, he quotes the dimensions as 58 by 34 feet ($\pm 17.70 \times 10.35$ m) (Layard, 1853a, p. 445), but on his plan draws it as of exactly double the length. It has already been seen that there are similar irregularities in the case of the adjacent Rooms XLII and XLVIII and, as will be seen below, with the long passage, Gallery XLIX. It is suggested above that this confusion may have come about when Layard drew the final plan in England and found difficulty in coordinating his field notes recording an asymmetrical mud-brick structure with his ideal of a correctly designed palace. Alternatively these discrepancies may be due to the fact that these rooms were excavated while he was away on a trip into the desert and as, on his return, he only spent a few days in Nineveh before continuing down river to Nimrud (Layard, 1853a, p. 347), he simply may not have had sufficient time or inclination to make detailed records. This is especially apparent in the case of Rooms XL and XLI, which he calls 'the chambers of records', for here was found a considerable portion of Ashurbanipal's Library – a discovery which, despite its importance, is given but relatively scant description (Layard, 1853a, pp. 344–7). He also states of these two rooms that the orthostats were almost destroyed, and does not number the slabs

on his plans. However he does publish a sketch of a draughtsman, probably himself, at work in the 'Archive Chamber' (see 463b), presumably Room XLI, the tunnel in the corner of the room being the doorway into Room XL, and from this it can be seen that the reliefs were relatively well preserved. Furthermore, one of the few sketch plans preserved in Layard's field notes may well represent Room XLI (PLATE 17c), leaving him little excuse for these errors and omissions in his description.

The lateral chambers on the opposite, southeast side of this wing consisted of two parallel halls, Rooms XXX and XXXIII, the outer one probably opening off a terrace platform overlooking the River Khosr. The entrance into Room XXXIII was lined with two plain stone blocks (Layard, 1853a, p. 460), probably plinths for metal colossi, whilst the doorway connecting this hall with Room XXX was decorated with lion or sphinx colossi facing into Room XXXIII (359; Layard, 1853a, p. 446), indicating that this was little more than a vestibule leading from the terrace, through Room XXX, into the main part of the wing. In Sennacherib's palace, colossi decorating internal doorways have only been found in this wing, in that to the southeast of Court XIX, between Rooms XXIV and XXVII, and in the throneroom suite. The doorway from the terrace into Room XXXIII was not on the same alignment as that between Rooms XXXIII and XXX; the doorways between these two lateral halls and Room XXIX, and thence through into Rooms XXXVIII and XLI, were all on a straight axis. Two small chambers, Rooms XXXI and XXXII,

also opened off Room XXX and, although Layard does not show here a recessed wall, by comparison with similar groups of rooms in this palace, the latter is possibly to be identified as a bathroom. Also to be noted here is the contrasting thickness of the southwest/northeast walls between the central halls XXIX and XXXIV and the lateral halls XXX and XXXVIII.

The outer and largest hall of this wing, Room XXIX, and the adjacent hall XXX were lined with unsculptured orthostats which were not of the normal 'Mosul Marble' but of a harder, highly fossiliferous limestone. The same material was used for the bull colossi of the central entrance from Court XIX into Room XXIX, for the lion or sphinx colossi between Rooms XXX and XXXIII, and also for the orthostats of Room XXXIII. The latter slabs, however, were sculptured, but with reliefs dating from Ashurbanipal's refurbishment of the palace, illustrating his campaign of 643 BC against Elam (381–421 bis; Layard, 1853a, pp. 445–59). It is not known whether these orthostats had also been carved at the time of the initial construction of the palace by Sennacherib, but the fact that they were of the same material as those in Rooms XXIX and XXX may indicate that originally they were plain, as suggested by Layard (1853a, p. 459). In the inscription on the colossi between Rooms XXX and XXXIII Sennacherib records that they were of NA_4 .⁴⁵SE.TIR stone (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 127, No. VI d, line 2; Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 31; Turner, 1970a, p. 74, nn. 49–50), which he describes as both highly prized and beautiful, similar in effect to cucumber seed (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 132, lines 72–4); Layard observed that when polished it had a most decorative appearance. Thus the fact that Sennacherib left the walls of these halls unsculptured by no means implies that they were of lesser importance, the rarity of the stone probably indicating the contrary.

Judging by the richness of its decoration, the southwest wing of Court XIX was evidently of considerable importance, while the formal plan points to a ceremonial function. The presence of at least one bathroom may indicate that it also contained living quarters; however, as suggested in the case of the throneroom suite, these may have been for ritual ablutions, or simply for the convenience of those taking part in the official ceremonies enacted here. Based on the facts that the reliefs in Room XXXIII date from the reign of Ashurbanipal, and that a major part of his Library was found here, it has been proposed that this suite was the *bit redūti*, the rebuilding of which Ashurbanipal records, together with his fond memories of living there as a child (Barnett, 1976, pp. 5–6). However, both versions of this inscription were discovered in the North Palace on Kuyunjik; and it would be most unusual for an Assyrian monarch to dedicate a foundation deposit in one building which in fact described another. Furthermore the formal planning of this wing in Sennacherib's palace points to a ceremonial rather than residential function, and it is also by no means the only part of the building which Ashurbanipal redecorated or rebuilt. In the *bit redūti* inscription Ashurbanipal records that he demolished the earlier structure and raised the level of the building platform. Although such accounts often exaggerate a simple renovation, there is no evidence that Ashurbanipal did

more in this wing of Sennacherib's palace than have the orthostats of Room XXXIII sculptured, and Layard makes no mention of the floor level being higher here than elsewhere in the building. Ashurbanipal also recounts that he raised the building platform of the *bit redūti* by only a limited amount in deference to the adjoining temples. The southwest wing of Court XIX is almost the most distant part of this palace from the temples on Kuyunjik; whereas the North Palace lies close to the Nabu Temple, and the re-entrant in the west corner of that palace was possibly designed to avoid encroaching upon sacred ground. Ashurbanipal states that the *bit redūti* had originally been built by Sennacherib, and although no evidence has been found of an earlier structure below the North Palace, no attempt has yet been made to investigate the lower levels of that building.

The discovery of a major portion of Ashurbanipal's Library in this sector of Sennacherib's palace also does not indicate its original function. Many, if not all of the tablets had evidently fallen from an upper storey at the time of the destruction of the building (Smith, 1875, p. 144), and tablets have also been found elsewhere in the palace (e.g. Room I – L. W. King, WAA departmental archive). It is most probable that Ashurbanipal and/or his successors used various rooms of this building as a depository for the Library and other archives when such rooms were no longer required for their original purpose.

A set of rooms of comparable plan has also been found in Ashurnasirpal II's Northwest Palace at Nimrud, on the east side of the central courtyard Y.¹⁷ This likewise has two parallel halls, leading through into a third, centrally placed, smaller room, with symmetrically disposed flanking chambers. It differs from that in Sennacherib's palace in that firstly, although the doorways connecting the two halls and the third inner room were on a straight axis, that from the courtyard into the first hall was on a different alignment; secondly the flanking chambers were also of a different plan; and thirdly in the outer hall, G, the orthostats were sculptured, whereas those in the inner Room K were left plain (Layard, 1853a, pp. 385–8). These variations may simply reflect changes in the rituals or ceremonies that took place in such suites between the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BC) and Sennacherib (704–681 BC), a time-span of some 180 years. In the 9th century palace, the reliefs in this suite were carved with imposing figures of the king, his courtiers and various genii (Layard, 1853a, pp. 385–8; Stearns, 1961, pls 87–90), indicating both by their subject matter and position in the rooms that at least part of this wing had been intended for important ceremonies, possibly ritual. As several orthostats show the king holding a bowl, it has been suggested that Rooms G and H were banqueting halls (Mallowan, 1966, p. 102; Barnett, 1957, p. 3), but in neither do the reliefs portray the king actually eating or drinking, and the cup may well have had a religious rather than a secular significance. Furthermore the very concept of a room specifically devoted to eating tends to be foreign to oriental thought, and there is no evidence that provision was made for such a room in any Late Assyrian palace or private house (Loud, 1936, p. 159). Alternatively, M. A. Brandes (1970) has proposed that Room G was a 'salle de lustration', a more plausible function in view of the

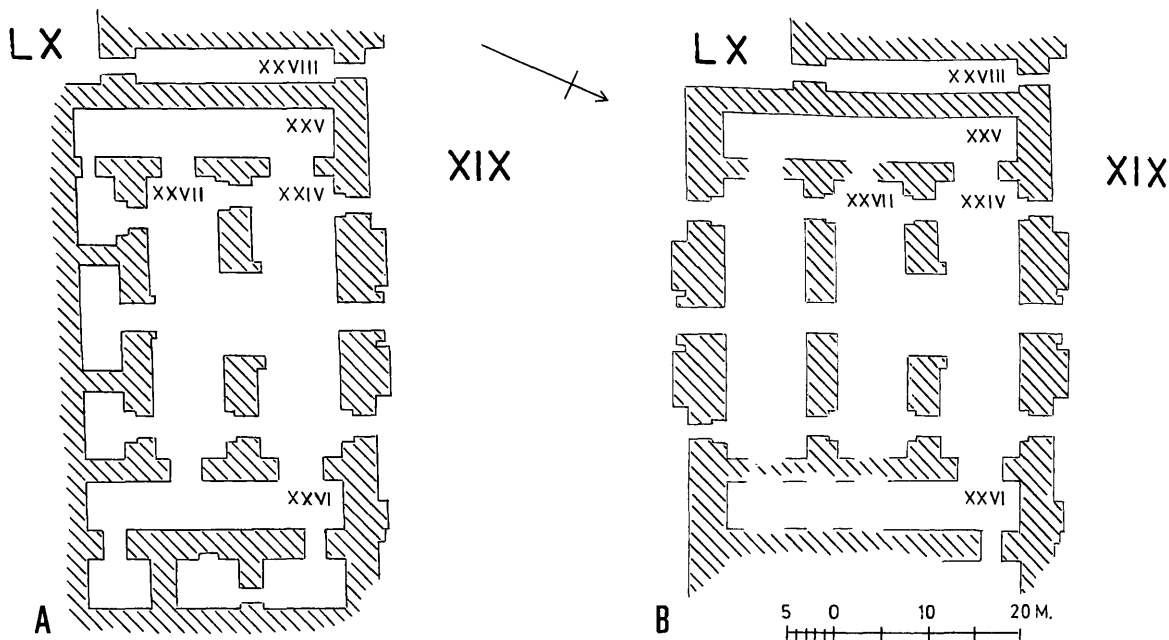


Fig. 6 Rooms XXIV–XXVII – alternative restored plans.

number of plumbing fixtures found in this wing (Turner, 1970b, p. 201, n. 116). In the suite in Sennacherib's palace the orthostats, where sculptured, all illustrate military campaigns, and therefore provide no indication as to what may originally have taken place in these rooms. With this paucity of evidence the question of the exact function of these suites must remain open.

This same basic plan is also found in Late Babylonian buildings, both private houses and royal palaces, and later in the palace of Darius at Susa and in the *bit akitu* at Warka. These suites were based on both a triple and a double range of rooms. In the Late Babylonian period the triple range type has only been found in the three palaces at Babylon, in each case opening off an inner courtyard, beyond the throneroom.¹⁸ As in the Late Assyrian examples there are two parallel halls leading through on a straight axis into a third, centrally placed, smaller room, with flanking subsidiary chambers, although the last are not as symmetrically arranged as in the Assyrian palaces. A similar suite is also to be seen in the Achaemenid palace at Susa (De Mecquenem, 1947, plan II – on the southwest side of Court C1; Amiet, 1974, pp. 65–73). The double range variation is found extensively in the Late Babylonian period, both in palaces¹⁹ and in private houses²⁰ and was evidently the standard form of residential/reception suite of that period. The basic plan has a single outer hall leading through into a centrally-placed smaller chamber, the two doorways being on the same alignment, with a varying number of side chambers, but again not necessarily symmetrically arranged. The same plan

is found twice in the Susa palace (De Mecquenem, 1947, plan II – on the southwest side of Courts D and E), and in several instances in the *bit akitu* at Warka (Lenzen, 1956, pl. 7 – Rooms 12–17, 22–25, 49–53, 75–79, 86–90).

This architectural order or its prototype has not yet been traced in earlier Babylonian or Elamite buildings, but our knowledge of secular architecture of those periods is very limited. It is thus possible either that the Babylonians adopted an Assyrian ceremonial suite as their standard residential/reception suite, or that the Assyrians took over a southern tradition, adapting it to a more formal function.

Rooms XXIV – XXVII (fig. 6)

Of the rooms on the southeast side of Court XIX Layard found little trace, these being on the very edge of the mound and as a result their walls were much eroded (Layard, 1853a, p. 442). The first hall, Room XXIV, was entered through a triple set of doorways, and evidently led through into a parallel hall, Room XXVII, also probably through three doorways set on the same alignment. Traces of side chambers were found both to the southwest and northeast of Room XXIV, but again in a very fragmentary state. At the beginning of the present century King had three exploratory trenches dug in this area but, finding nothing, he did not continue his investigations (WAA departmental archives).

At approximately 9 m, the central doorway between Rooms XXIV and XXVII was of unusual width. Its jambs were decorated with human-headed lion colossi, and it was furnished with an elaborately carved stone threshold. Both here, and in other doorways of this suite, Reade restores pairs of free-standing pillars to support the lintels of the wide openings (Reade, 1980, fig. 3), as was similarly found in Esarhaddon's Southwest Palace at Nimrud (Layard, 1849a, I, p. 34, plan II). In his building inscriptions Sennacherib gives highly detailed descriptions of the columns and their bases which he had made for this building (e.g. Luckenbill, 1924, pp. 108–10, col VI, line 80–col. VII, line 40), but it is to be noted that the drawing of a section of the threshold slab (329a) between Rooms XXIV and XXVII shows no break in the design for the emplacements for column bases, nor any evidence that the surface was worn by the pressure of them standing there. Further, the unusual width of the doorway does not exclude the possibility of its being spanned either by an arch or by a wood or stone lintel, without the necessity of supporting pillars: Rooms I and XXIX of this building were both of greater width, and would thus have required even longer roofing beams.

Elsewhere I have proposed that this wing be restored on similar lines to that on the southwest side of Court XIX, with a third row of rooms opening off XXVII, consisting of a central chamber with symmetrically disposed flanking rooms (fig. 6A) (Turner, 1970b, pp. 201–2; Reade, 1979a, Abb. 3). However, an alternative and probably more feasible reconstruction, as also proposed by Heinrich (1947, pp. 177–8), is to be based on suites in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, to the west of Court Y (Meuszyński, 1981, plan 2), and in Sargon's main palace at Khorsabad, on the northwest side of Court VI (Loud & Altman, 1938, pl. 76). Both were formed of three parallel halls lying between and connecting the central courtyard and a terrace platform overlooking the walls of the citadel. In the Northwest Palace these two areas of the building were also connected by an adjoining corridor, Z/BB, and a similar passage-way is possibly to be reconstructed in Sargon's palace (Turner, 1970b, p. 209). Likewise in Sennacherib's palace on Kuyunjik there was probably an open terrace to the southeast of this wing, overlooking the River Khosr, and this would probably also have been accessible from Court XIX through a passage, Room XXVIII, as proposed by Layard (PLATE 12). In this case the outer range of rooms would have had a third parallel hall, leading through onto the terrace, as tentatively restored in fig. 6B.

Rooms XX – XXII (fig. 2)

The northeast side of Court XIX was also in a poor state of preservation when excavated by Layard. The central entrance here did not lead into a lateral hall but into a relatively small chamber, Room XXII. Although the jambs of this portal were lined with colossi, they were only of coarse limestone, and represented not the bull but the less common lion figure (301). Layard also found that some of the orthostats in this room had originally been carved on the face now set against the wall, indicating that at a secondary stage they had been reversed and sculptured afresh (Layard, 1853a,

p. 230, n.†). Reade dates this later work to Ashurbanipal (Reade, 1967, p. 43), and also suggests that the actual layout of this wing may have been altered at this time (Reade, 1979a, p. 110). Of the adjoining Room XXIII, Layard seems only to have found one jamb of the doorway connecting it to Court XIX (266; Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 32v), and nowhere does he make any mention of Rooms XX and XXI which he shows as restored on the plan on PLATES 12–13.

In the analysis of the first inner courtyard, Court VI, it has been seen that there was probably a passageway, Room XVIII, opening off the east corner of that courtyard and leading through to the north corner of Court XIX (see above). In his plan (PLATE 12) Layard restores this connection as entering Court XIX through a relatively large vestibule, Room XX, whereas elsewhere in Late Assyrian secular architecture such corridors invariably open either directly off the corner of the courtyard or, less frequently, via a small vestibule (e.g. Thureau-Dangin & Dunand, 1936, plan B – Rooms XIX, XXIX, XLIX). However it has also been pointed out that when appending the results of his second expedition to the earlier plan, in several instances Layard probably misdrew the relative position and alignment of certain rooms. These inaccuracies are further confused by the discovery that Room V was evidently more than 5 m longer than shown by Layard, with Room IV thus lying further to the southeast, partly in the area of Layard's restored Room XXI (see above). In fig. 2, therefore, an alternative plan is proposed, with the passageway, Room XVIII, leading through a far smaller vestibule into Court XIX. Our knowledge of this area of Sennacherib's palace is also not helped by the fact that on Layard's MS plan (PLATES 6–7), Room XXII (there marked by the letters XX) is drawn totally out of context in the lower right corner, due to the inadequate shape and size of the two sheets of paper used for the plan. Beside it is pencilled, 'detached chamber to be added to left of Hall I' (i.e. Court VI). For whoever produced the final published version (PLATE 12), these were distinctly vague instructions.

Whatever its exact plan and whether this represents Sennacherib's original structure or a later rebuilding, the northeast side of Court XIX is unusual in that the central doorway gave into a relatively small chamber and not into a reception or audience hall. It is possible that Room XXII in fact served as a vestibule, being approached through a corridor or series of rooms from the Forecourt area. This would have allowed direct access to Court XIX and the important ceremonial and reception suites located there, without the complications of having first to pass through the throneroom suite and Court VI. A similar means of access may also have existed in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, between Courts XV and VI, via Rooms 74, XII, 60 and 45 (Loud & Altman, 1938, pl. 76).

Southeast Terrace Platform (figs 5–7)

On the southeast and southwest sides of Sennacherib's palace there were probably terrace platforms overlooking the walls of Kuyunjik and thus commanding views of the rivers Khosr and Tigris. Similar terraces have been found in other Late Assyrian palaces, as for instance at Khorsabad in both Sargon's main palace and in Palace

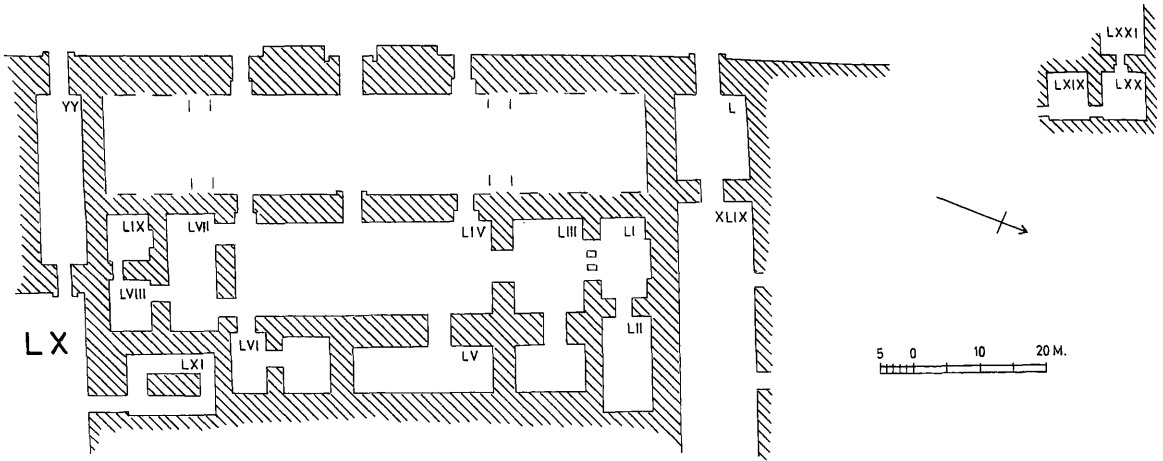


Fig. 7 Rooms LI-LIX – restored plan.

F (Loud & Altman, 1938, pl. 69). At Kuyunjik, the southeast edge of the mound had been heavily eroded and little was found of structural remains. This area of the building, Room LX, could be reached from Court XIX either through the southwest wing via Room XXXIII, or by the passage, Room XXVIII, or possibly also from the southeast wing of that courtyard, as proposed in fig. 6B. In the west corner of Room LX Layard found another entrance, lined with bull colossi (602), which led through a passageway or small chamber (YY) onto the southwest terrace.²¹

There also opened off the southeast terrace an unusually deep doorway leading into an ‘ascending passage’, Room LXI (Layard, 1853a, pp. 460–2). This would have given access either to the flat roof or more probably to an upper storey, for, as has already been seen, most of the cuneiform tablets discovered in this area of the palace had apparently fallen from above.²² The extra width of the outer wall of Room LXI would have been to support this upper floor. The ramp or stairwell was of the standard Late Assyrian type, with a central solid pier around which the passage ascended. The floor was covered with a hard lime plaster, and the walls were of plain unbaked brick in which were fixed three rows of square projections, each formed of two bricks, as illustrated by Layard in an elevation of the northeast wall of LXI (PLATE 19). The walls were also pierced by a series of irregularly cut circular holes. Of the original function of these projections and holes there is no evidence. Since he found many clay bullae here (Layard, 1853a, pp. 153–9), Layard suggested that they may have supported shelves upon which the cuneiform tablets were stacked; such a ‘filing’ system has since been discovered in the 3rd-millennium Syrian palace at Ebla/Tell Mardikh (Matthiae, 1980, fig. 44). Unfortunately Layard does not record the length of the brick projections, so we do not know if they could have been adequate supports for such shelving. Another possibility is that they were for securing some form of wall decoration, such as

panelling or tiles, to screen the plain *libn* brickwork. If Layard’s elevation of Room LXI is to scale and thus with a gradient of 4°, then it can be calculated that the ramp, if continuing around all four sides of the central pier and allowing for a flat landing at each corner, would have reached to approximately 3.50 m, a suitable height for the roof or upper floor. To the left of the entrance into Room LXI an opening led into a blind passage, probably a closet, below the ascending ramp. Layard found some plain orthostats lining this opening (LN 2E, f. 34v), and evidently also by the west corner of this narrow chamber, where the height of the sloping ceiling would hardly have been as much as 1.50 m.

Southwest Terrace Platform (figs 7–8)

The main approach to the southwest terrace platform was along the impressive passage, Gallery XLIX. In view of its length this was possibly without a roof and open to the sky (Reade, 1978, p. 54, fig. 4). Layard gives the dimensions as 218 by 25 feet ($\pm 66.45 \times 7.60$ m) (Layard, 1853a, p. 103), but in both plans (PLATES 6 and 10) it is shown as 35 feet (10.65 m) wide. It could be entered from either of the inner courtyards, Courts VI and XIX, via passages XII and XLII (fig. 4). The lintel of the wide entrance into XLIX from the vestibule, Room XLVIII, was supported on two columns, the plain stone bases of which Layard found *in situ*.²³ At its southwest end he restores an almost square chamber, Room L, which may have been a vestibule leading onto the terrace. The MS plan (PLATE 6) shows one jamb of a doorway here, and on PLATE 10 the northwest wall of L is also drawn as having been excavated; but Layard nowhere refers to having actually found any trace of this chamber.

Off the northwest side of Gallery XLIX, towards the terrace end, there opened a narrower, descending passage, Sloping Passage LI (T; not to be confused with Room LI [ZZ] on the other side of

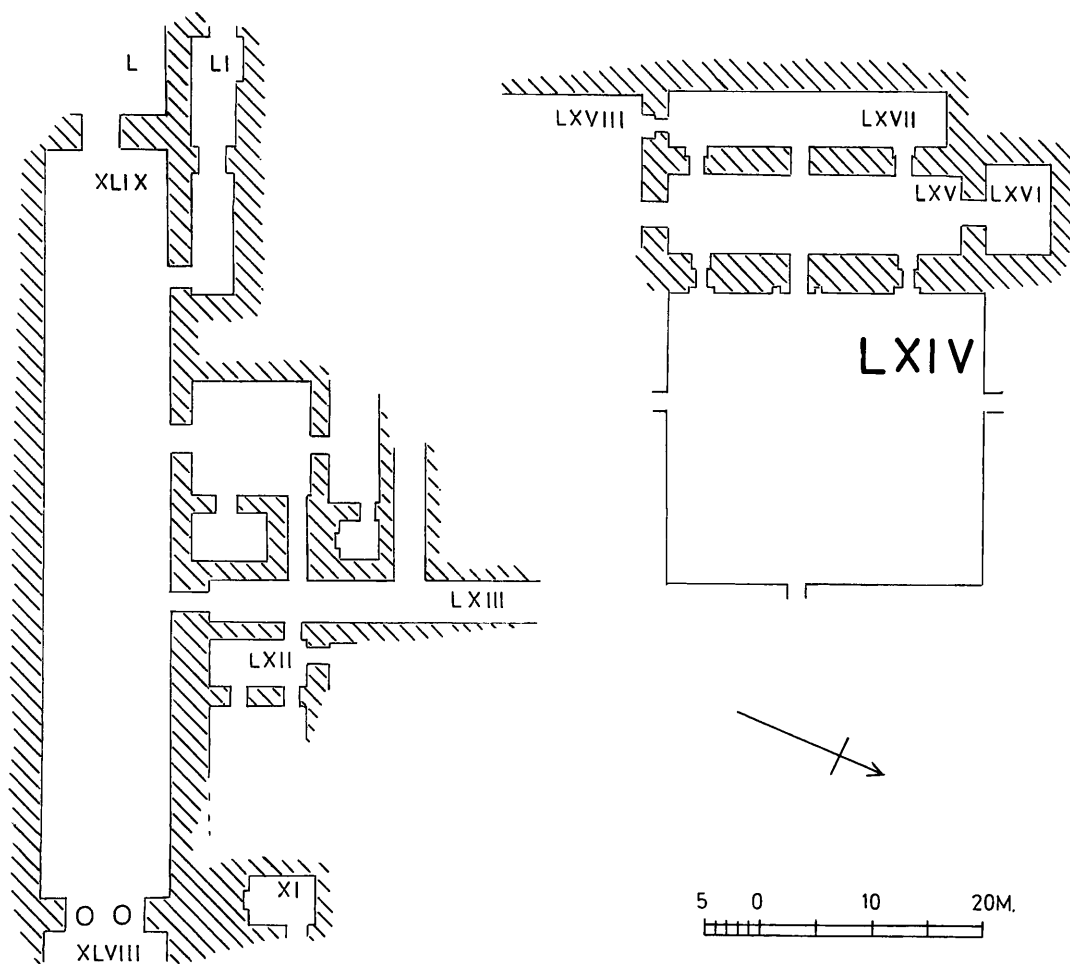


Fig. 8 Northwest wing and Court LXIV.

Gallery XLIX, to which Layard unfortunately ascribed the same number), which ran parallel to Gallery XLIX for some 29.25 m and then made a right-angled turn to the northwest (Layard, 1853a, pp. 338–40). Layard was unable to excavate far beyond this corner, as he was already some 12 m below the surface of the mound and almost at its edge. For added security the passage was divided into a series of small chambers with internal doorways, and the northwest wall towards the southwest end was recessed to receive a door when open. In the short length which was excavated of the second section of the passage, where it ran northwest by southeast, the walls were of solid masonry, its descent probably being low enough at this point for the

main level of the palace to continue above it, thus necessitating extra structural support. Similar passages descending to an outer entrance have been found in Ashurbanipal's North Palace at this site (Barnett, 1976, pp. 31–2) and in Fort Salmeser at Nimrud (Mallowan, 1966, pp. 464–7 and plan VIII). As with the reliefs in the proposed ramp between Sennacherib's palace and the Ishtar Temple, and in the descending passage in the North Palace, those of Sloping Passage LI (T) show two processions of figures, on one side servants bearing provisions for a banquet, and on the other horses being led by grooms (557–585). These probably illustrate the principal functions of this entrance.

Sloping Passage LI may have opened either off the main level of the citadel below the palace building platform, to the northwest, as in the North Palace, or from the plain at the foot of Kuyunjik, to the southwest, as in Fort Shalmaneser. Although the orthostats of Sloping Passage LI are cut at various angles, the average is approximately 10°, comparable to the gradient of the descending passage in the North Palace. There the total descent was approximately 6 m, whereas in Fort Shalmaneser the south entrance apparently lay approximately 8.64 m below the terrace platform (Mallowan, 1966, p. 374). This would suggest that in Sennacherib's palace Sloping Passage LI probably also opened off the main level of the citadel of Kuyunjik, for according to King's large-scale contour plan (PLATE 3) the palace terrace stood some 19 m above the plain, which would have necessitated an extremely lengthy and tortuous series of galleries leading down from Sloping Passage LI.

Despite this area of the palace having been investigated on several occasions, the plan of the rooms opening onto the southwest terrace, L–LIX, is extremely fragmentary and uncertain (fig. 7). Ross first worked here during Layard's absence in 1848/9, excavating Room LI (ZZ) and part of Room LIII (Layard, 1853a, pp. 67–9). The orthostats of the doorway between these two rooms and also those in Room LIII were unsculptured, but of an extremely hard, close-grained magnesian limestone. In the doorway stood a pair of small couchant alabaster lions, apparently free-standing sculptures, as Layard does not identify them as column bases. In the plans on PLATES 6 and 10, the northwest wall of Room LI is shown as narrowing towards the west corner, and this is probably to be restored as a recessed niche. Layard also refers to Room LII as being excavated by Ross, but gives no description of it (Layard, 1853a, p. 103). Except for stating that he dug a tunnel through the wall between the Gallery XLIX and Room LI (Layard, 1853a, p. 103), his published account does not mention his own excavations in this area of the palace, but his field notes do refer to Rooms LVII–LIX (Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 34). The MS plan (PLATE 7) evidently only illustrates Layard's discoveries and not those of Ross. The latter are included in the published version (PLATE 10) which also shows Room LIII as having been completely excavated, together with the northwest wall of Rooms LV and the outer façade of a 'Grand Entrance' into Room LIV. The only reference made by Layard to this southwest façade is in his general observations on Assyrian architecture, where he states that it was formed of five pairs of colossi, similar to those leading into Throneroom I (Layard, 1853a, p. 645).

In 1854 Loftus also excavated in this wing, primarily in search of tablets, but apparently he did find the screening wall between Rooms LIV and LVII (as shown on his plan of Kuyunjik, Add.MS. 21258 B published by Rassam, 1897, facing p. 8). Finally, almost fifty years later in 1903, King re-excavated parts of Rooms LI, LIII and LIV and, of more importance, sunk two trenches to the southwest reaching to the edge of the tell (WAA departmental archives summarised in Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, pp. 35 and 59–61). Here he discovered part of an entrance façade, evidently forming one pier of a 'Grand Entrance', consisting of two bull colossi and a 'Gilgamesh' figure. He calculated that these stood some 60 feet (\pm 18.30 m) to the

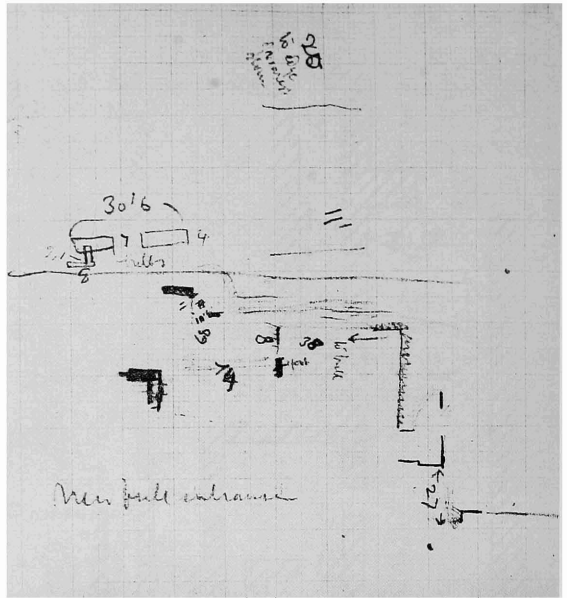


Fig. 9 Sketch plan from L. W. King's notebook.

southwest of Layard's outer façade, that is approximately on the same northwest/southeast alignment as Layard shows for Room L and the descending passage LI. The first bull colossus to be unearthed '... has lost his head but is a fine fellow and as big as any the French found at Khorsabad' (788–789?). He writes that it was orientated 'north and south', i.e. northwest by southeast, which he considered to be at right angles to those shown on PLATE 10. Unfortunately it is very difficult to determine the actual position and alignment of this new façade in relation to Layard's plans. King's large-scale MS contour plan (PLATE 3), which was later adopted by Campbell Thompson (PLATE 4), shows the colossi as parallel with Layard's 'Grand Entrance', approximately opposite the wall between Rooms LIII and LIV. In his field notes there is a sketch plan marking the position of the new façade (fig. 9), but there being no explanation with it, it is difficult to interpret. If it is drawn on the same orientation as Layard's plans, then again the façade appears to be parallel with his façade; but if it is set with the page orientated to the points of the compass, then the façade would indeed be at right angles to Layard's. The previously excavated walls that King plots on his sketch plan are so vaguely indicated that it is not possible to relate them with any certainty to Layard's plan. With his field notes there is also a general plan of Kuyunjik, but on a very small scale. This is drawn on the same orientation as Layard's plans, and shows the position but not the alignment of the new entrance, which is set approximately opposite the wall between Rooms LI and LIII, rather than between Rooms LIII and LIV.

King also records that he found considerable quantities of tablets around this new outer façade, and also fragments of a breccia

throne dais. In Room LIV he excavated three door sockets bearing Sennacherib's inscriptions; but these were not *in situ*, and he presumed that they originated from his newly discovered entrance.

Our interpretation of this group of rooms is further confused by King's comments in his letters to Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, Wallis Budge and others, in which he stresses the inaccuracy of Layard's plan, especially in this part of the building. Unfortunately with the exception of a general account of his new 'Grand Entrance', he has failed to leave us any other details, either written or drawn. To summarise, therefore, the only facts to hand are that there was here an impressive reception suite, with to the northwest two rooms, LI and LIII, connected by a wide doorway furnished with two lion statues, or possibly column bases; and that the orthostats of this doorway and of the outer room were uncarved but of a highly prized stone. The wall of the inner chamber facing this entrance was probably recessed. At the opposite, southeast end of the wing the two small chambers, Rooms LVIII and LIX, probably formed a bathroom suite, one wall of Room LIX being recessed. And thirdly, according to King, the outer façade with a 'Grand Entrance' was set considerably further to the southwest than shown in Layard's plan, with a terrace platform extending some 30 feet or so (± 9 m) in this direction.

Late Assyrian terrace platforms have been excavated in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad and in the two *ekal māšartīs* – Palace F also at Khorsabad and Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud. In these there was an impressive wing of three parallel reception halls projecting out onto the terrace, set at right angles to the main body of the palace (Turner, 1970b, pp. 204–7). In Sennacherib's palace, if in fact King's entrance did face towards the northwest, it would have led into a hall set at right angles to Rooms LI, LIII and LIV; on the other hand the fragmentary plan of Rooms LI–LIX provides little evidence of such a projecting wing, and the width of the terrace platform could hardly accommodate it. As observed by Russell (1991, pp. 43 and 76), it is more probable that King's 'Grand Entrance' is, in fact, the same as that shown on Layard's plan (PLATE 10), orientated towards the southwest but probably incorrectly plotted in relation to the rest of the palace. The fact that Layard refers only cursorily to this façade and that it is not marked on the MS plan (PLATE 7), may indicate that he himself did not excavate it, but that it was unearthed after his departure from Nineveh. If King's siting of the façade is approximately correct, there probably stood here a suite of rooms set in a triple range (see fig. 7).

Yet another problem in the interpretation of this wing is the proposed reconstruction of a recess in the northwest wall of Room LI (ZZ). From its decoration and plan it is unlikely that this was a bathroom, and thus such a niche more probably indicates the presence of a shrine or the emplacement for a throne. Sennacherib does record that he included a set of sanctuaries in his palace complex,²⁴ but in Late Assyrian temple architecture the cult niche or cella is invariably set at one end of a long sanctuary and is not approached through a short ante-room, as would be the case here if Room LIII is correctly planned by Layard. Similarly although it is possible that in the later Assyrian palaces the throne may have stood in a separate chamber or alcove (see the discussion of Room

II above), in no other instance has it yet been found to have been approached via an ante-room such as Room LIII; nor indeed is it ever set in the second, inner range of rooms, instead of in the hall opening directly off the courtyard, as would be the case here if a third outer row of rooms is to be restored.

Reade (1979a, p. 87) also restores here a third outer hall, to the southwest of Room LIV, with the exterior wall as a columned portico. Such a façade is possibly depicted on a relief from Ashurbanipal's North Palace (BM WA 124938), which both Reade and Heinrich suggest may represent Sennacherib's palace, tentatively identifying it as this southwest façade, possibly modelled on the Syrian *bīt hilāni* (Reade, 1964, p. 5; Heinrich, 1984, p. 196). The slab from the North Palace is carved in two registers with Elamite soldiers below and a heavily fortified city above, upon the citadel of which stands an impressive building, the outer façade at this point being an entrance approached through a columned portico (Barnett, 1976, pl. XXIII). The surviving fragment of the relief has two pairs of columns, each standing upon a base in the form of a striding lion. Those to the left lead into a doorway with flanking winged colossi. It has generally been assumed that this relief is to be interpreted horizontally, and thus that the lower register showing the Elamite army is not directly connected with the walled city above. However if it is in fact to be considered vertically, forming a single scene, then the city may have been situated in Elam, possibly Susa itself. In the 6th century BC the column was certainly widely used in Iranian architecture. On the other hand the construction of the fortifications shown on Ashurbanipal's relief do correspond closely to those excavated at Nineveh (Madhloom, 1967, pls V–VI; 1968, pls 3, 5; 1969, pls 6, 10–14, 17–19). These were built in two stepped stages, the lower of which was on the outer face and formed a paved causeway for the manoeuvring of troops, enclosed within a crenellated wall. Above these towered the main body of the wall, probably also crowned with crenellations. Furthermore, Sennacherib records that he did incorporate *bīt hilāni* structures in this palace (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 97, line 82, p. 106, lines 20–2, p. 119, line 22). From Late Assyrian palace texts from his reign and later we learn that such structures were columned porticos, with pillars of wood and metal, which were erected in front of the entrances to important reception suites (Turner, 1970a, pp. 75–7). No such structure has yet been identified in Assyria, probably due to the perishable nature of the materials used therein. Reade's reconstruction, however, incorporates the stone colossi discovered by King to the southwest of Room LIV, thus making the columned portico an integral part of the building, rather than an appended structure. Also, if indeed Ashurbanipal's relief does represent Nineveh, it is to be noted that Sennacherib also records building a Hitite-style wing with columned porticos in the *ekal māšarti* or arsenal on Nebi Yunus (Luckenbill, 1924, pp. 131–3, lines 64, 75–81; Turner, 1970a, pp. 73–7), and this building was also still in use during Ashurbanipal's reign (Piepkorn, 1933, p. 86, lines 64–72). Thus until it can be established whether this relief is to be read horizontally or vertically, we do not know whether it shows an Assyrian or an Elamite city; and in the former case it is still not clear whether this is in fact Nineveh or another

important Assyrian city such as Arbela, as suggested by Barnett (1976, p. 41).

Of the northwest section of the southwest terrace platform little has been investigated. When studying Layard's plan, it has to be borne in mind that Sloping Passage LI was at this point probably well below the floor level of the palace, and thus did not interrupt the ground plan of this area. It has been seen above that on the MS plan (PLATES 6–7) there is marked only one jamb of a doorway to the southwest end of the long Gallery XLIX; but the plan on PLATE 10 has here an almost square chamber, Room L, with its northwest wall shown as actually excavated. Layard makes no reference to this room. If King's new 'Grand Entrance' was orientated to the northwest as he believed, then the proximity of this doorway would preclude the existence of such a chamber, and Gallery XLIX would have opened direct onto the terrace. If alternatively this new façade was parallel to that of Room LIV, then Layard's reconstruction of Room L may be correct, with a doorway to be added in its southwest wall, as proposed by Reade (1979a, p. 87). King records that he excavated for a short way in this direction, following a wall decorated with reliefs; but gives no details of its actual position in relation to Layard's discoveries (WAA departmental archives).

Further to the northwest Layard excavated two small chambers, Rooms LXIX and LXX, and part of a third, Room LXXI, which stood on the very edge of the mound (Layard, 1853a, pp. 586–8) (fig. 7 and PLATE 14). No connection between these and the rooms lying to their northeast was found, and thus they were probably accessible from the southwest terrace. Again it is to be remembered that Sloping Passage LI would have continued well below their floor level. In both Sargon's palace and Palace F at Khorsabad there was a reception suite of the 'Type A' variety opening off the corresponding part of the terrace platform (Loud & Altman, 1938, pl. 76 – Rooms 13–14, pl. 75 – Rooms 5–8, 12; Turner, 1970, p. 206) and since Rooms LXIX–LXXI were all decorated with sculptured orthostats, they may have formed part of a similar suite.

Court LXIV and the Northwest Sector (fig. 8)

In the west corner of Sennacherib's palace, backing onto Rooms LXIX and LXX, Layard found traces of yet another set of state apartments (Layard, *LN* 2E, ff. 30r–29v; 1853a, pp. 584–6). An outer hall LXV was entered from the northeast from Court LXIV by three doorways, the central one of which was decorated with lion colossi. This led through to a narrower inner Room LXVII, also through three doorways set on the same axis. Off the northwest end of LXV there opened a small chamber LXVI, and in the southeast walls of both LXV and LXVII there were doorways, probably also giving into subsidiary chambers. This group of rooms, therefore, was possibly a reception suite of the 'Type A' variety, similar to those on the northwest and southwest sides of Court VI. Due to the low level of the mound here, Layard found the structural remains in a very poor state of preservation; he notes concerning Room LXVI that its walls were almost entirely lost, and of Room LXVII that its northwest side was

destroyed. These are shown as such on the MS plan (PLATE 6), but according to PLATE 14 they were actually traced. Layard evidently did not investigate elsewhere in Court LXIV, and on PLATE 14 he tentatively reconstructs the other three sides of this courtyard as also leading into reception suites.

As will be seen below, one means of access to Court LXIV was probably along a corridor opening off Gallery XLIX. In view of its somewhat isolated position in the palace complex and its probable proximity to the outer wall of the building, there may also have been an outer entrance leading directly into court LXIV. King, when investigating the southwest terrace platform, also excavated on this side of the building, finding a massive wall of baked bricks bearing Sennacherib's stamp and bonded with bitumen. This did not extend far beyond Layard's discoveries, and he concluded that it formed the northwest outer edge of the palace temenos (WAA departmental archives; Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 61). Layard also records finding four stone column bases to the 'north of the ruins', set on a limestone pavement and apparently part of a double row of columns extending from the edge of the platform to one of the palace entrances (Layard, 1853a, pp. 589–90). Unfortunately he gives neither the exact position of these bases nor even their distance from Sennacherib's palace, and thus we remain ignorant as to whether they were connected with this building, or with a totally different structure. If the former, then possibly they led to an entrance giving onto Court LXIV, this wing forming the almost independent quarters of a member of Sennacherib's household. In fact, the recently published inscription on the two lion colossi flanking the central doorway into Room LXV records that Tašmetum-šarrat, Sennacherib's wife, was the original occupant (Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 31–2).

Layard apparently also excavated in the area between Court LXIV and the long passageway, Gallery XLIX. Both his plans (PLATES 6 and 10) mark parts of two rooms, LXII and LXIII, but no mention is made of these discoveries (fig. 8). PLATE 14 also shows several walls here in dotted outline; and although there is no indication that these are anything more than free restorations, it is to be remembered that in the analysis of the throneroom suite it has been suggested that such dotted lines may represent discoveries made after Layard's final departure to England, in contrast to the unbroken lines which are pure reconstruction (see above).

In the 1870s George Smith excavated in the northern (i.e. northwestern) part of Sennacherib's palace. He describes his discoveries as similar to those in the Southeast Palace at Nimrud (Smith, 1875, p. 102), that is either Mallowan's Burnt Palace or Palace AB (Mallowan, 1966, p. 204, fig. 140), but Smith gives no further details. Thirty years later King and Campbell Thompson also worked in the northwest sector of the building, excavating a group of chambers to the southwest of Layard's Room LXIII (PLATE 9a).²⁵ These included a passageway almost 4 m wide running northwest by southeast, evidently opening off Gallery XLIX and probably leading through to Court LXIV. In Layard's plan (PLATE 10) only one doorway is shown in the northwest wall of Gallery XLIX, that into Sloping Passage LI; but on PLATE 9a a second opening is indicated by dotted lines, on the same

alignment as the doorway between Rooms XXXVIII and XXXIX to the southeast. This probably led into the new corridor. To the southwest lay a square room or courtyard, apparently opening both off Gallery XLIX and also connected by a short passage to the new corridor.²⁶ To the northwest of this was a smaller chamber, with a recess in one wall, indicating its probable function as a bathroom. These rooms were all furnished with unsculptured orthostats and paved floors. In fig. 8 an attempt has been made to co-ordinate these later discoveries with those of Layard; but due to the small scale and lack of detail of the plans published by Campbell Thompson and Hutchinson (1929a, plans 3 and 4 = PLATE 9a) and of the sketch plans in King's notebook (fig. 9), this is but a free reconstruction and purely hypothetical.²⁷

In 1931–2 Campbell Thompson returned to Nineveh, digging a series of trenches between Court LXIV and the area to the northwest of Room VIII, again finding traces of stone pavements and walls lined with plain orthostats. Unfortunately he has left neither details nor plans of these excavations (Campbell Thompson & Mallowan, 1932, pp. 72–4, pl. CVI; Campbell Thompson, 1934, p. 103).

As indicated by the smaller dimensions and simpler decoration of these chambers, the northwest section probably contained the less imposing residential quarters and domestic offices of the palace, similar for example to the 'Domestic Wing' of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud (Mallowan, 1966, plan III – area round Court A). The fact that one means of access to this wing, from Gallery XLIX, lay close to Sloping Passage LI is probably also of significance. The reliefs of Passage LI show, on one side, a procession of horses and their grooms, and on the other servants carrying food, and this may well indicate that the stables and kitchens were located in the immediate vicinity.

Campbell Thompson also records that he found remains of an earlier floor level several feet below the stone pavements of his rooms to the northwest of Gallery XLIX (Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 66). This possibly formed part of the earlier palace, which Sennacherib described as being too small and in need of rebuilding (Luckenbill, 1924, pp. 95–6, lines 73–4, p. 99, lines 44–7, pp. 103–15, lines 43–83, pp. 117–18, lines 7–14).

Summary

Although only a section of the Southwest Palace has been excavated, an idea of its full extent can be gained from Sennacherib's building inscriptions. These texts, which span a period of some ten years, give the overall measurements of the palace, showing how the original plan was extended during the course of construction, until the outer, forecourt, area stretched along much of the southeast side of Kuyunjik, overlooking the River Khors.

That part of the palace which has been investigated represents the 'State Apartments'. The early excavators were attracted to these by the sculptured slabs and colossal bull and lion figures which decorated the walls and doorways of the courtyards and halls. The presence of these reliefs also helped in the tracing of the line of the walls, the technique of excavating mud-brick

structures being as yet undeveloped. In the Southwest Palace the State Apartments were on a far larger scale than found elsewhere in Late Assyrian palaces, with the throneroom suite, Rooms I–V, opening off the unexcavated forecourt area, and leading through into a series of inner courtyards. Off the first, Court VI, there were probably located suites of residential quarters, and off the second, Court XIX, two impressive groups of rooms have been discovered, both probably of a ceremonial nature. These two courtyards were connected by a wing of unusual plan, possibly the quarters of one of the more high-ranking officials, even the king himself. To the southeast and southwest were open terraces on the edge of the citadel, overlooking the rivers Khors and Tigris. On the southwest terrace there was probably an impressive reception suite, built on almost the same scale as the throneroom suite, but unfortunately our knowledge of this wing is very fragmentary. To the northwest lay yet another courtyard with state apartments, Court LXIV. Only one side of this courtyard has been investigated, there being found here a reception suite, probably residential in character, perhaps the private quarters of Sennacherib's wife, Tašmetum-šarrat.

Almost all the excavators of the Southwest Palace were early pioneers in the field of archaeology and in most instances were only interested in acquiring cuneiform tablets or sculptured slabs. Because they did not appreciate the importance of making accurate records of their discoveries, our knowledge of the plan of the building remains very sketchy and full of problems. Any description of the architectural remains can only be tantalisingly, but unavoidably, saturated with the words 'probably' and 'possibly'. The only solution to this, of course, is further excavation making use of modern techniques; regrettably it is more than likely that the fabric of many of the rooms and halls has been badly damaged or even totally destroyed in the long course of these early investigations.

Notes

1. The total size of the Northwest Palace was approximately 200 × 120 m, of which the 'State Apartments' accounted for approximately 85 × 85 m (Mallowan, 1966, plan III). In contrast, Layard's plan of Sennacherib's palace (PLATES 10–14) shows an area of approximately 200 × 175 m, and this only represents the 'State Apartments', or possibly even only a part thereof.
2. Appropriately Sennacherib named the palace *ekallu šanina la išû* 'The Palace Without Rival' (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 111, lines 51–2 *et passim*). However it is to be noted that Sargon gave his palace at Khorsabad exactly the same name (Lie, 1929, p. 76, line 14).
3. When giving the dimensions of the earlier palace which had stood on this site, the versions also vary, but not to such an extent: Text i – 360 × 120 cubits (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 95, line 73); Texts ii and iii – 360 × 80 × 134 × 95 cubits (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 99, line 44 and p. 102); Texts iv and v – 360 × 95 cubits (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 104, lines 57–8 and p. 117, line 7).
4. Luckenbill, 1924, p. 105, col. V, line 91–col. VI, line 5, and pp. 118–19, lines 15–17. It is to be noted that there is an inconsistency in the measurements given for this new plot of land. Text iv states that it was 340 × 289 cubits, and text v, 454 × 289, i.e. an extra 114 cubits;

- whereas a few lines later text iv gives the length of the southeast side of the palace as 700 cubits, but text v, 914, an addition of 214 cubits (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 106, line 11 and p. 119, line 19).
5. WAA departmental archive. In the same letter to Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, dated 2 May 1903, King wrote: '... and his [Layard's] plan in other parts that I have cleared is not accurate as to the size of the chambers, the position and arrangement of doorways etc.'. He also wrote several times to Budge on the same subject. This lack of detail by Layard in his work on this palace is in contrast with the relative accuracy of his plan of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud. The latter building has since been re-excavated by a joint Polish-Iraqi team, and in his report Meuszyński (1981, plan 2) shows most of the rooms with dimensions almost identical to those given by Layard, the greatest discrepancy being approximately 10%, a small margin in view of the ruined nature of the building and the conditions in which it was excavated and planned.
 6. Madhloom, 1967, pp. 78–9. It is to be noted that on the accompanying plan (PLATE 9b) the scale is given as 1:200, but drawn as 1:600, whereas in reality the plan is approximately 1:300.
 7. This plan was probably drawn by Layard not at Nineveh but on his return to England. The symmetrical layout of the building indicates a later 'idealised' reconstruction from field notes and sketches, rather than a plan drawn on the site. Mud-brick buildings tend to be totally asymmetrical, almost devoid of right-angled corners, etc. Thus when the Oriental Institute of Chicago re-excavated parts of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, they discovered that the plans of both Botta and Place did not conform at all to their own surveying, the 19th-century excavators having preferred to give the palace a classically symmetrical appearance (Loud 1938, pp. 61, 65 and 88; Loud & Altman, 1938, p. 55).
 8. However, it is still possible to discern on the plan a pencilled sketch of the entrance set lower on the sheet, in its true position in relationship to the other parts of the building. This had evidently later been erased. Due to the lack of space other sections of the building are also drawn 'out of context', viz. Rooms XXII (XX), XXIII (OOO), XXVI (MMM), NNN part of Passage LI (T), and Rooms LXIX–LXXI (GGG-III).
 9. Turner, 1970b, p. 185 and pl. XXXVIII. Reade (1979a, p. 34) has proposed that slab 5 (24) of Room I was carved with a full-length figure, indicating that on certain occasions the throne may also have been set facing the main entrance from Forecourt H, as found in a number of other Late Assyrian palaces (Turner, 1970, pp. 185–6). In fact Russell's recent observations (1991, pp. 47–9, figs 28–9) have confirmed this (for details see 24). Indeed there may originally have been a group of figures including the king, as found in the throneroom in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud (Meuszyński, 1981, pls 1:2 and 2:1).
 10. An alternative interpretation of the plan of Rooms I–III has been proposed by Roaf (1973, pp. 83–91). He rejects the possibility of a stairwell leading off Room III but does accept Layard's reconstruction of Room II, and compares these three rooms to the Iranian and Late Babylonian 'salles à quatre saillants' order, suggesting that they represent a new form of Late Assyrian throneroom suite, possibly an innovation made here by Sennacherib. However, this does not explain the presence of the bathroom, Room IV, nor of the adjoining hall, Room V, both basic elements of the standard Late Assyrian throneroom suite, but found in neither the Iranian nor the Late Babylonian types.
 11. Layard also shows the corresponding façade in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud as having only one buttress, likewise on the same side of the doorway connecting the throneroom suite to the central courtyard, the north façade of Court Y (1849a, I, plan III). Whether this parallel is pure coincidence or intentional is not explained by Layard. In the most recent work on the Northwest Palace, Meuszyński in fact plans a second buttress to this façade (1981, plan 2).
 12. Compare especially the plan of Rooms 5–8 and 12 of Palace F at Khorsabad (Loud & Altman, 1938, pl. 75).
 13. Layard, *LV* 2C, f. 7v (see Chapter 2, Appendix A). In the central entrance from Court VI into Room XIII Layard found a well, but surmised, and probably correctly so, that it was of a later date (Layard, 1853a, p. 71).
 14. Heinrich has also proposed a similar function for this group of rooms (1984, p. 176). Elsewhere I have suggested, but I now think incorrectly, that this suite belongs to my 'Reception Suite Type F' variety (Turner, 1970b, pp. 207–9) in that it consisted of a triple range of rooms lying between and evidently connecting two areas of the palace, and projected from the rear of the throneroom suite. However, in the other 'Type F' suites the three parallel halls are of similar dimensions whereas, in the present case, Room XLVI is considerably smaller than the two outer halls, Rooms XIII and XLIII, and also appears to have no direct access to Room XIII.
 15. Koldewey proposed an alternative reconstruction for this façade, as a columned portico of the so-called *bīt hīlāni* type, comparing the plan of the wing between Courts VI and XIX to Rooms R-Z of the Upper Palace at Zincirli (von Luschan, 1898, pp. 189–90). Although Sennacherib does record that he constructed a columned portico after the Hittite manner (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 97, line 82, p. 106, lines 20–2, and p. 119, line 22), it is evident from both his and other Late Assyrian texts that the Assyrians copied the Hittite palaces by appending a porch to the entrance of the reception suite, whereas in the western palace the portico was an integral part of the structure (Turner, 1970b, pp. 75–7). In no case has there yet been found such a porch, doubtless due to the fact they were constructed of wooden pillars resting on metal bases. It is also to be noted that in the Neo-Hittite palaces the inner chamber never led through to a second courtyard, as in Sennacherib's palace with Room XIII opening off Court VI. Furthermore Rooms R-Z of the Upper Palace at Zincirli form the only suite yet found of the so-called *bīt hīlāni* type which has three rows of rooms, the other examples having but a portico leading direct into the main hall. On the other hand the fact that Layard apparently found no trace of the outer, southeast, façade of Room XLIII is possibly support for Koldewey's proposal. Evidently he did excavate the other three walls of this hall, as well as the southeast and southwest façades of Court XIX. The reliefs in this courtyard date from Ashurbanipal's reign, and it is possible that in his refurbishments he altered this entrance façade. This is to be compared to Room I in the central courtyard of his North Palace which was evidently furnished with an extremely wide entrance, generally restored as being supported on two square free-standing piers (Barnett, 1976, p. 30).
 16. It is to be noted that the two sheets of paper of Layard's MS plan (PLATES 6–7) have been incorrectly joined, thus giving distorted proportions for Rooms XXIX, XXXIV and XXXVI.
 17. Meuszyński, 1981, plan 2; Turner, 1970b, pp. 200–1. Part of the Southwest Palace at Nimrud is possibly to be restored with a similar plan.
 18. Koldewey & Wetzel, 1931–2, I, pl. 2 – on the south side of the Anbauhof, and II, pls 8 and 32 – on the south side of the Westhof of both the Hauptburg and the Sommerpalast.
 19. Koldewey & Wetzel, 1931–2, I, pl. 2 – on the north side of the Westhof and on the south side of the Mittelhof and Westhof and of Courts 23, 38 and 40–4; II, pls 8 and 32 – on the south side of the Osthof of both the Hauptburg [by restoration] and Sommerpalast.
 20. Reuther, 1926, fig. 62 – Rooms 5–12, fig. 66 – Rooms 16–19, fig. 70 – Rooms 8–17, fig. 71 – Rooms 13–19, fig. 78 – Rooms 5–12;

- Nöldeke, 1934, pl. 7 – square Od-e XVI, XVII; Woolley, 1962, pl. 70 – Rooms 6–8, 10–12, 14–22, 27–30, 43–47, 55–58, pl. 71 – House 1 Rooms 3–7 and possibly 37–39, and House 7 Rooms 4–8.
21. Reade has tentatively restored the southeast side of the palace not with an open terrace, but as a long corridor or series of rooms, forming the outer wall of the building (1979a, p. 87, Abb. 9). This is unlikely in view of the treatment of the doorways from Room LX into Rooms YY and XXXIII, the first being furnished with bull colossi, and the second with stone slabs which were probably plinths for metal colossi. Such entrances usually lead off an open area, either courtyard or terrace platform. Furthermore, of the passage, Room XXVIII, Layard noted that its reliefs were of better quality than those found elsewhere in the palace (Layard, 1853a, p. 444), and it is improbable that a passage given such rich treatment would lead to an insignificant outer room.
 22. Smith, 1875, p. 144. Naturally, no trace of an upper floor has been discovered, but an indication of its plan is possibly to be seen in the varying thicknesses of the walls of the southwest wing of Court XIX. Thus the extreme width of the walls between Rooms XXXV–XXXIX and Rooms LII and LV, between Rooms XXIX, XXXIV and XXXVII and Room XXXVIII, between Rooms XXXIX–XLI and Gallery XLIX, and between Rooms XXXVIII and XLI and Room XLII would suggest an L-shaped storey leading off the stairwell, Room LXI, and thus not breaking the impressive outer façade of Room XXIX. In this case the upper floor would have passed over Rooms XL and XLI, Layard's 'chambers of records'.
 23. Layard, 1853a, p. 103. The plan of Rooms XLVIII and XLIX and the connecting columned entrance is similar to that of Rooms B and P of the North Palace which, although of a much shorter length, evidently also connected various sectors of the building (Barnett, 1976, fig. 7 and p. 32).
 24. Luckenbill, 1924, p. 106, line 30, and pp. 119–20, lines 24–5. For these shrines Sennacherib uses the enigmatic terms *barakki ša qereb bit papāhāni*. Despite the translation of *barakku* in this context as 'corridor, passage' (CAD B, 2, p. 101), wherever either of these words appear elsewhere in Assyrian building texts, they invariably refer to a shrine, or a part thereof. See also von Soden, 1959, pp. 823 and 827–8. Whatever their actual form, Sennacherib's description of their decoration demonstrates their importance. Temples have been found in the palace at Arslan Tash and in that of Sargon at Khorsabad (Turner, 1968, pp. 63–4), and in the latter there was also appended a separate wing containing six shrines and a ziggurat (Loud & Altman, 1938, pl. 76). Also it must be noted that Sennacherib states that he set couchant animal statues of marble and ivory in the doorways of the palace shrines, without specifying that they were column bases (Luckenbill, 1924, pp. 106–7, lines 32–6), which could possibly be the two lion figures found by Ross between Rooms LI and LIII.
 25. Campbell Thompson and Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 66 and plans 3 and 4 (= PLATE 9a). King evidently opened these excavations, and Campbell Thompson continued working here when he took over in 1904. However it is difficult to determine who was actually responsible for how much, as the sketch plans on which plans 3 and 4 are based are to be found in King's notebooks (WAA departmental archives).
 26. On the sketch plan of this corridor contained in King's notebook (WAA departmental archives), the doorway into the square room or court is set not opposite that leading to the northeast as on PLATE 9a, but further to the northwest.
 27. Russell (1991, p. 77) suggests that 'the easternmost of the new rooms was possibly the same as Layard's Room LXII'.

APPENDIX 1A

Stone Analysis

Introduction

Some time ago it was shown (Middlemiss *et al.*, 1953) that the winged, human-headed figures from the palace of Sargon II, which now stand in the 'Khorsabad Entrance' to the Assyrian galleries in the British Museum, were carved from a gypsum rock known as Mosul marble, rather than from a 'quartz-eyed gneiss' as had previously been thought (Reusch, 1922). Many of the bas-relief sculptures associated with Sennacherib appear to be made from a similar rock and the purpose of the present investigation was to assess the validity of this impression. Samples were taken from a selection of the sculptures for analysis by X-ray diffraction (XRD).

Results and discussion

The results are summarised below. All but five of the sculptures analysed appeared to be made from gypsum. Sculpture WA 124800, the stele of Sennacherib, consists mainly of calcite (with a little gypsum, perhaps from weathering) and appears to have been carved from a white, chalky limestone, rather different in appearance to all the other pieces examined. The samples from WA 124801, 124802, 124805 and 135123 (reliefs associated with Ashurbanipal but found in the Southwest Palace at Nineveh) were found to be mixtures of calcite and gypsum (generally calcite was dominant and the gypsum may be a result of weathering);

visual examination suggests that although these sculptures are not dissimilar in general appearance to the gypsum bas-relief sculptures, they are in fact made from a fine-grained fossiliferous limestone. Examination of the sculptures in this group (i.e. WA 124803-4, 124806-10, 121357, 122118, 131125-6, 135109 and 135122-3) suggests that all were carved in the same fossiliferous limestone.

Conclusions

The results indicate that with the exception of the Ashurbanipal reliefs from the Southwest Palace at Nineveh and the stele of Sennacherib, all the sculptures examined were carved from gypsum, probably the Mosul marble noted in Middlemiss *et al.*, 1953. The Ashurbanipal reliefs were carved in a fine-grained, fossiliferous limestone, and the stele of Sennacherib consists of a white, rather chalky limestone.

The present results are thought to be representative, but further sampling and the examination of thin sections (necessitating the removal of relatively large samples) would be necessary to provide definitive results and full petrographic descriptions (see Appendix 1B).

A. P. Middleton
9 February 1988
Research Laboratory 5633

APPENDIX 1B

Stone Analysis

Introduction

This report extends the results obtained during an earlier investigation into the nature of the stone used for the bas-relief sculptures from Sennacherib's palace (Appendix 1A). This earlier investigation suggested that the majority of the sculptures had been carved from a gypsum rock (i.e. alabaster), probably similar to the so-called 'Mosul marble' used for the winged, human-headed figures from the palace of Sargon II (Middlemiss *et al.*, 1953). However, a group of sculptures from Sennacherib's palace but associated with Ashurbanipal (WA 124801–10, 121357, 122118, 131125–6, 135109 and 135122–3) appeared to have been carved from a fine-grained fossiliferous limestone.

The aims of the present investigation have been threefold: to confirm and further characterise the fossiliferous limestone by analysis of an associated fragment which is similar to the other Ashurbanipal reliefs (WA 92273); to determine the nature of fragment WA 130713 which has also been associated with the Ashurbanipal sculptures, but which is different in its macroscopic appearance, and to determine the nature of five additional reliefs (WA 124782, 124825, 135108, 118817 and 118819). A summary of the results is tabulated below.

As in the previous investigation, very small powder samples were removed for analysis by X-ray diffraction (XRD) and, in addition, a small fragment was taken from sample WA 92273 for preparation as a polished thin section. This was examined using a petrographic microscope in order to determine the textural characteristics of the stone.

Results and discussion

Fragment WA 92273 (421). The XRD pattern of sample WA 92273 matches that of calcite and examination of the thin section confirmed that this is a fossiliferous limestone (i.e. calcite rock). The rock is seen to contain numerous microfossils, shell fragments and fine-grained (micritic) pellets, in a finely crystalline (microsparry) matrix which is extensively iron-stained. Using the classification system of Folk (1962), it is a biopelsparite. The larger microfossils (?nummulites) form the

distinctive, light-coloured elongated ovoids which can be seen on the carved surfaces of this and other pieces.

Fragment WA 130713. Analysis of sample WA 130713 by XRD shows that this is composed mainly of gypsum rather than of calcite; it therefore seems that it should probably not be associated with the limestone reliefs of Ashurbanipal. [This fragment has therefore been excluded from the catalogue.]

Reliefs WA 124782 (277b), 124825 (282b–283b), 135108 (313b), 118817 (5d), 118819 (5c). XRD analysis of these reliefs suggests that all were carved from gypsum rock. Anhydrite (i.e. anhydrous calcium sulphate, whereas gypsum is a hydrated form of calcium sulphate) was found in most samples as a minor phase but in sample WA 124825 the proportion of anhydrite appeared to be comparable to that of gypsum.

Conclusions

The present results reinforce the previous indications that the majority of the reliefs from the palace of Sennacherib were carved from a gypsum rock (i.e. alabaster). The results also confirm that the sculptures from the palace which are associated with Ashurbanipal were not carved from gypsum rock but from a calcite rock (i.e. a fine-grained fossiliferous limestone or biopelsparite). Finally the results show that fragment WA 130713 is of gypsum rock and therefore should probably not be associated with the limestone reliefs of Ashurbanipal.

A. P. Middleton
20 June 1991
Research Laboratory 5633

References

- Folk, R. L., 1962: *Memoirs of the American Association of Petroleum Geologists* 1, pp. 62–84
- Middlemiss, F. A., Moss, A. A. and Claringbull, G. F., 1953: *Geological Magazine* 90, p. 141
- Reusch, H., 1922: *Geological Magazine* 59, pp. 222–3

Samples analysed and summary of X-ray diffraction results

<i>WA Reg. No.</i>	<i>Catalogue No.</i>	<i>WA Reg. No.</i>	<i>Catalogue No.</i>
Gypsum		Fossiliferous limestone	
118815	5a	92273	421
118817	5d	124801	381b-383b
118819	5c	124802	384c-386c
124774	340b-342b	124805	389
124782	277b	135122	419
124783	219b-220b	135123	399
124795	584		
124825	282b-283b	Chalky limestone	
124900	657	124800	[stele]
124905	429c		
124947	511b		
124948	674b		
124952	104c		
130713	[omitted]		
131123	151		
135108	313b		
135198	727		

PART II

Catalogue of Sculptures

ERIKA BLEIBTREU

The following catalogue describes the sculptures room by room according to the numbering on Layard's plans (PLATES 6–7 and 10–14), giving details of original drawings and sculptures where they survive, and descriptions derived from Layard's notebooks (*LN*) and publications where they do not.

Each slab, or group of slabs, has been assigned a number which is indicated in bold, within square brackets when it appears out of sequence; letters of the alphabet appended to these numbers refer to the different illustrations and surviving slabs and fragments. Since the drawings represent a more comprehensive coverage of the material, they are dealt with first, and the slabs surviving in museums and collections are inserted at the appropriate points. Unless otherwise stated, the original slab represented in a drawing is assumed to be still *in situ*. Watercolours by Malan and photographs by King have also been inserted where appropriate. Where the original location of slabs, or drawings, watercolours and photographs of them, is uncertain, these are catalogued at the end. Notes follow the relevant room sections.

Drawings

In the descriptions of the drawings, the measurements give first the size of the paper (height × width) and then, in brackets, the width of the drawing on the sheet. The scale is missing on the original drawing unless otherwise specified (abbreviations: 1' = 1 foot; ft. = foot; 1" = 1 inch; in = inch; H. = height; W. = width). The original annotations were in pencil and these have been quoted. Later additions, such as folio numbers and captions, have been omitted.

Slabs

Measurements, height × width.

Material

This is only specified where analysis has been carried out. Details of the analysis will be found in Appendix 1.

Inscriptions

Details of the publication of the inscriptions are given in Concorde E.

Plates

In the plates an attempt has been made to reproduce pieces from a given room to the same relative proportions but some anomalies occur, as in Room XLVIII. Bold numbers refer to the main catalogue entry and numbers in ordinary type in brackets refer to the slabs where there is a possibility of confusion. In the case of photographs, where an entrance, for instance, may be described in relation to one room whereas a relief alongside it may be in an adjacent room described later, the latter will be identified in the catalogue description with cross-references.

For ease of reference, drawings assigned to a room are reproduced together on introductory plates, together with a sketch of the room showing the numbers of slabs and letters of doorways; the orientation of these room sketches is the same as on the fold-out plan at the end of this volume.

FORECOURT H (PLATES 20–29)

Forecourt H is located on the east side of the palace, and was excavated under Layard's supervision from May to June 1847; the excavations were then continued under Ross. The northeastern part of the façade, discovered before Layard's departure and thought by him to have been a separate room (H), is described in *LN* 1 (see 9–15).

By analogy with other Assyrian palaces, Forecourt H was the great outer court of the throneroom suite (Turner, 1970b, pp. 178–80). Events in Sennacherib's sixth campaign against the Babylonians were probably represented here, and the Forecourt was, it seems, redecorated under Ashurbanipal with scenes showing one of his campaigns against Elam (13–15).

Layard, *LN* 1, f. 54r; Paterson, 1915, pp. 2–4; Reade, 1979a, p. 86, n. 72; Russell, 1991, pp. 45–7, 340; Russell, 1995, pp. 75–6.

As Layard's publications are now rare his published descriptions will be quoted here.

Thus a façade of the south-east side of the palace, forming apparently the grand entrance to the edifice, had been discovered. Ten colossal bulls, with six human figures of gigantic proportions, were here grouped together, and the length of the whole, without including the sculptured walls continued

beyond the smaller entrances, was 180 feet. Although the bas-reliefs to the right of the northern gateway had apparently been purposely destroyed with a sharp instrument, enough remained to allow me to trace their subject. They had represented the conquest of a district, probably part of Babylonia, watered by a broad river and wooded with palms, spearmen on foot in combat with Assyrian horsemen, castles besieged, long lines of prisoners, and beasts of burden carrying away the spoil. Amongst various animals brought as tribute to the conquerors, could be distinguished a lion led by a chain. There were no remains whatever of the superstructure which once rose above the colossi, guarding this magnificent entrance. . .

The bulls, as I have already observed, were all more or less injured. The same convulsion of nature – for I can scarcely attribute to any human violence the overthrow of these great masses – had shattered some of them into pieces, and scattered the fragments amongst the ruins. Fortunately, however, the lower parts of all, and, consequently, the inscriptions, had been more or less preserved. . .

On the great bulls forming the centre portal of the grand entrance, was one continuous inscription, injured in parts, but still so far preserved as to be legible almost throughout. It contained 152 lines. On the four bulls of the façade were two inscriptions, one inscription being carried over each pair, and the two being of precisely the same import.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 136–8 and see the frontispiece for a proposed reconstruction)

The decoration of the Forecourt H façade will be discussed from southeast to northwest.

1 Entrance *b* leading into Throneroom I (B); flanked by a pair of bull colossi.

Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 29–30, no. 4.

2 Slabs 1 + 2 + 3: Façade figures on the left of Layard's Grand Entrance *a* leading into Throneroom I (B), complementing slabs 10 + 11 + 12 (**8**) on the right.

Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 28–30, no. 2; Russell, 1991, p. 45, fig. 26 (lower parts preserved).

3 Slab 4:¹ Relief at right-angles to slab 3 (**2**) in Layard's Grand Entrance *a*. Only the lower half preserved, representing a four-winged genie (*apkallu*),² facing left, holding a bucket, wearing a short tasselled kilt and a long robe with fringed border, leaving his right leg uncovered.

3a Or.Dr. IV, 1; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard; 31.5 × 47.6 cm (35 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 5. [sic] Grand Entrance Kouyunjik'.

Russell, 1991, p. 179, fig. 93.

PLATE 21

4 Slab 5: Relief at right-angles to slab 4 (**3**) in Layard's Grand Entrance *a*. Bearded figure,³ facing right, with large curls, holding a spade, the upper part of which has been destroyed. The hero's dress consists of a short-sleeved shirt, a broad belt holding his dagger, and a short tasselled kilt; he is barefooted.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 6 right; Gadd, 1936, p. 168; Kolbe, 1981, p. 96.

4a Or.Dr. IV, 2; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard; 53.3 × 30.5 cm (21.8 cm); 'Scale 3 inches to a foot.' (1:4).

Annotations in pencil: 'No 5. Grand Entrance. Kouyunjik.'; '43. one half'.

PLATE 21

4b It is perhaps the lower part of this figure which appears in a photograph by King.

PLATE 21

5 Slabs 6 and 7: Bull colossi on either side of Entrance *a*, Layard's Grand Entrance, leading into Throneroom I (B); gypsum.

Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 28–9, no. 1; Russell, 1991, p. 242, fig. 124.

The inscriptions from these bull figures are in the British Museum as follows (from left to right in each case):

Slab 6, bull facing left.

5a Below belly (46 lines) WA 118815

5b Between hind legs (39 lines) WA 118821

Russell, 1991, pp. 244–5, fig. 125.

Slab 7, bull facing right.

5c Between hind legs (34 lines) WA 118819

5d Below belly (43 lines) WA 118817

PLATES 22–23

6 Slab 8: Probably a figure similar to that represented on slab 5 (**4**), but facing left.

7 Slab 9: A four-winged genie in Layard's Grand Entrance *a*, similar to that represented on slab 4 (**3**), but facing right.

7a The figure is shown to the left of the bull in a water-colour by Malan (see **8b** below). It does not appear in Or.Dr. II, 49 (**8c**) or in the engraving made from it (Layard, 1853a, p. 135).

PLATE 25

8 Slabs 10 + 11 + 12: Façade figures on the right of Layard's Grand Entrance *a*. Remains of two colossal winged bulls facing away from a human figure holding a lion; lower halves only remain. Layard originally thought this was an entrance to a separate room (H).

Layard, 1853a, pp. 137 and 135: engraving by G[eorge] S[charf] taken from Or.Dr. II, 49 lower; Madhloom, 1967, pl. IX, after p. 8; Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 28–30, no. 3.

8a Or.Dr. I, 33; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by F. C. Cooper, on whitish cartridge paper; 42.8 × 67 cm (63.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 10.11.12 Grand Entrance – Kouyunjik'; in ink: 'Annals of Sennacherib'.

Russell, 1991, p. 13, fig. 10.

PLATE 24

8b Water-colour by Malan (f. 28, no. 111), showing slabs 9 (**7**) and 10 + 11 + 12; 22.2 × 29.2 cm.

Annotation in pencil: 'Kouyunjik, June 15th' [1850].

Gadd, 1938, p. 121, pl. XVIII.

PLATE 25

8c Or.Dr. II, 49 lower; unsigned pencil drawing with brown wash on brownish paper; 25 × 35.3 cm.

Annotation in pencil: '10.11.12 *Grand Entrance Kouyunjik*'.

8d Photograph by King seemingly showing slabs 10 and 12 *in situ* but 11 missing apart from the feet. However, John Russell has pointed out that the east wall of Throneroom I(B) would seem to be largely missing. Perhaps these are the figures discovered by King (see 788–789).

PLATE 25

The northeastern part of the Forecourt was excavated during Layard's first season and he originally thought it was a room (H) with 8 as one side of the entrance, and slab 3 (9) as part of its south wall (see *LN* 1, f. 54r).

A part only of chamber H was uncovered. Several of the slabs appear to have been purposely destroyed, as there were marks of the chisel upon them. One of the winged bulls, forming an entrance at the southern end of the chamber, had fallen from its place [8, slab 12]. On the slab adjoining it [9] was a gigantic winged human figure, the upper part of which had been defaced. On slabs Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7 [13], could be traced warriors urging their horses at full speed; some discharging, at the same time, their arrows. Beneath the horsemen were rows of chariots and led horses.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 137)

More recently Madhloom uncovered defaced slabs still showing reeds at the bottom (Reade, 1979a, p. 92). This part of the forecourt was probably redecorated under Ashurbanipal. The partly recut slab found in Court VI (I) (184) also possibly came from Forecourt H.

9–11 Slabs 3 + 2 + 1: Façade of Forecourt H, to the left of Entrance *c* (12).

el-Wailly, 1965, fig. 2, following p. 9 (Arabic section); Madhloom, 1972, pl. 22 right.

9 Slab 3: A gigantic winged figure holding a bucket (preserved) and a cone.

10 Slab 2: A siege and an inscription:

1 [Sennacherib], king of the world, king of Assyria, cities of

2 [PN or GN] he goes to conquer.

11 Slab 1: Totally destroyed.

12 Entrance *c* leading into Throneroom I (B); 'It was formed by two winged human-headed bulls' (see 33); not drawn. Layard, 1853a, p. 130; el-Wailly, 1965, fig. 2 after p. 9 (Arabic section); Madhloom, 1972, pl. 22 right; Madhloom & Mahdi, 1976, back cover; Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 29–30, no. 5; Russell, 1991, p. 246, fig. 126.

12a The rear of the northern bull appears on King's photograph of 33. Comparison with the photograph published by Madhloom in 1972 shows considerable deterioration of this bull.

13–15 Slabs 4 + 5 + 6 + 7: Recorded on Layard's plan (PLATE 8) on the façade of Forecourt H, to the right of Entrance *c* (10). Russell

(1991, p. 46, fig. 27) illustrates an additional relief 3a immediately to the right of Entrance *c*; the upper part was chiselled flat for re-use but the remains of palm-trees and reeds are visible below this. Slabs 4–6 are mentioned (*LN* 1, f. 54r) as representing warriors galloping and can thus be identified with two plaster casts in the BM (wrongly described by Waterfield, 1963, p. 223 as 'papiermâché impressions') and with various other fragments.

13a London, cast BM WA 124790; 43.2 × 57.2 cm; painted with brown wash.

An Elamite soldier galloping to the left.

Layard, 1849a, I, p. 399, no. 84; Birch & Pinches, 1883, p. 71, no. 31; Paterson, 1915, p. 14, pl. 98, no. 31.

PLATE 26

13b Woodcut by G[eorge] S[charf] in Layard 1849a, II, opp. p. 360.

PLATE 26

14a? There should have been another cast in the British Museum, if Layard's list (1849a, I, p. 399) is correct. His no. 85 'cast of two warriors turning back and discharging arrows' is listed (1849a, I, p. 395) as having 'already been placed in the British Museum'.

14b Woodcut in Layard, 1849a, II, p. 402 probably representing this cast.

PLATE 27

14c Warsaw, National Museum, MN 199333; 30.5 × 32.5 × 8 cm.

The upper part of the slab illustrated in 14b.

Belke, 1967, p. 58, fig. 3; Barnett, 1976, p. 61, pl. LXXI (j).

PLATE 27

15a London, cast BM WA 124791; 43.2 × 57.2 cm; painted with brown wash.

A mounted Assyrian galloping to the left, discharging an arrow.

Layard, 1849a, I, p. 399, no. 85; 1849a, II, pp. 137–8; Birch & Pinches, 1883, p. 71, no. 32; Paterson, 1915, p. 14, pl. 98, no. 32.

PLATE 28

15b Warsaw, National Museum, MN 199334; 32 × 28.2 × 7.8 cm.

A small fragment of the slab of which 15a is a cast. The head of the Assyrian archer, his raised right arm and the head of the horse remain.

Belke, 1967, pp. 57–63; Reade, 1967, p. 44, n. 10; Russell, 1991, p. 296, n. 31.

PLATE 28

16 Slabs 8–14: Discovered in Ross' excavations (PLATE 8), but not marked on Layard's later plan.

After my departure from Mosul, Mr. Ross continued the excavations along this wall, and discovered several other slabs and the openings into three new chambers, one entrance having, it appears, been formed by four sphinxes, fragments of which were found amongst the rubbish. The subjects of the bas-reliefs appear to have been nearly the same as those preceding them. Mr. Ross could trace chariots, horsemen, archers, and warriors in mail. The country in which the events recorded took place, was indicated by a river and palm trees. On one slab were the remains of

two lions. This wall having ceased altogether, he first opened a trench in the same direction, but without coming upon other remains of building. Resuming the excavations at right angles to the end of the wall, he discovered, about eighteen feet from it, an immense square slab, which he conjectures to be a dais or altar, resembling that found in the great hall of the principal edifice at Nimroud. The wall was continued beyond it. The lower part of a few slabs still remained, and it was evident that they had been sculptured; but this part of the building had been so completely destroyed by fire, that Mr. Ross soon renounced any further attempt to examine it.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 138)

Russell (1997) suggests that a looted fragment may have originated here. Paterson, 1915, p. 3; Russell, 1991, p. 47; Russell, 1997, p. 11, fig. 7.

The following fragment may have come from this area or from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal.

16a? New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection; 31.2 × 42.6 cm.

Four Elamites – a charioteer, an archer and two spearmen – in a chariot moving towards the left below a river with fish. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London 14 July 1986, lot 119; Bleibtreu, 1990, p. 38, no. 24.

PLATE 29

As Layard did not take part in the excavation of the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, it is most probable that all the fragments in his possession, i.e. all the Venice fragments, came from the Southwest Palace. However, Barnett assigned Deposito Correr 41 and 43 to the North Palace (Barnett, 1976, pl. LXII f and g); Deposito Correr 44 (Barnett, 1976, pl. XXXIV b [318]) and 46 (319) may possibly have come from the redecorated Room XXII. A fourth fragment may have come from Forecourt H:

17 Venice, Museo Archeologico Civico, Deposito Correr 48; 25.1 × 25.3 cm.

Two Elamite mounted soldiers galloping to the left, the nearest horseman holding his hand to his mouth. Traces of an upper register: feet of a man facing left and an animal's hoof.

Falkner, 1952–3, p. 31, fig. 5; Barnett, 1976, p. 62, pl. LXXII (aa).

PLATE 28

Notes

1 According to Layard's numbering in his plan and his note in 1853a, p. 136, we should take Or.Dr. IV, 1 as slab 4 not 5. The note on the Or.Dr. itself 'No. 5' must, therefore, be wrong (cf. Layard, 1849a, II, p. 127).

2 For the *apkallu* see Kolbe, 1981, p. 14.

3 This type of figure is probably to be identified as *lahmu* in his aspect of Doorkeeper of Ea, holding a spade; see Wiggermann, 1992, pp. 164–6; see also Ellis, 1995. See also no. 113a.

THRONE ROOM I (B) (PLATES 30–47)

This, the largest and most important room in the Palace, is shown with seven doorways on the plan, six of them flanked

by human-headed colossal bulls of the Lamassu/Šedu-type.¹ The Throneroom and adjacent rooms were re-excavated by T. Madhloom in 1965–6. He found five additional slabs² apart from those numbered 1–22 on Layard's plan (PLATE 8) from the southwestern end of the room round to the northwestern. Layard reported that the southern end of the room had been completely destroyed by erosion (Layard, 1849a, II, p. 125). The remains of slabs 1–5, 10–13 and 20–25 are still *in situ*. Two of these slabs are illustrated by Madhloom (1972, pl. 26), Madhloom and Mahdi (1976, pl. 31) and el-Wailly (1965, fig. 4 after p. 9 (Arabic section)). The former may be a corner slab, in which case it would be slab 12 (27).

Layard, *LN* 1, ff. 44r–46r; Paterson, 1915, pp. 4–5; Wäfler, 1975, p. 367; Reade, 1979a, p. 86; Russell, 1991, pp. 47–50, 340; Russell, 1995, pp. 72–3.

18 Entrance *f* leading into the Bathroom IV (A) (see also below). Two slabs, each showing a figure with human feet in front of an eagle-footed figure, facing into Throneroom I (B). The small fragment in London, BM WA 1930-5-8, 223 (685) may have come from the north jamb of this entrance, but such figures were frequently used in entrances.

Green, 1986a, p. 199, pl. 20, nos 84–85; Russell, 1991, p. 51.

19 Slabs 1 + 2:

The first and second slabs on the west side of the hall appear to have been occupied by one subject, the burning and sacking of a city. The bas-relief was divided into several parts by parallel lines. In the upper compartment, which occupied about half the sculpture, were represented houses some two and three stories high; they had been fired by the enemy, and flames were seen issuing from the windows and doors. Beneath were three rows of warriors, some marching in file – each corps or regiment being distinguished by the forms of the helmets, arms, and shields of the men. Others were carrying away the spoil, consisting of furniture, vases, chariots, and horses. On the bottom of the slabs were figured vines bearing grapes. The captured city stood upon a mountain, and above it was a short inscription, probably containing its name, and a record of the event represented by the bas-relief. The legend was unfortunately almost illegible. The two slabs were greatly injured, and in many places had been entirely destroyed.

(Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 125–6)

The inscription (on slab 1) was later published by Layard (1851, 85 lower), and has since been photographed and provided with a new translation by Russell (1991, p. 271, used below). Unfortunately the names of the enemy ruler and of his city are broken. The present writer (EB) believes it may be a Phoenician city, perhaps Sidon. The extreme right edge of slab 2 is visible on King's photograph of slab 3 (see 20b).

1 [Sennacherib], king of the world, king of Assyria: [PN],

2 [King of GN], the onslaught of [my] battle [he feared] and

3 [all] his troops he deserted [. . .]

4 I caused to be seized. [His] soldiers [. . .]

5 To the summit of the mountains [. . .]

6 he fled. After him [I followed];

7 at the top of the mountains [I] brought about

8 their defeat. The city [GN],

9 his royal city, with fire [I burned].

Layard, 1849b, pl. 74; Paterson, 1915, pl. 7 upper; Russell, 1991, pp. 270–1, fig. 133.

19a Or.Dr. IV, 3; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard; 31.4 × 57.1 cm.

Only part of slab 2 was drawn but the whole width remains *in situ* (Russell, personal communication) and the right edge is visible on **20a**. Annotations in pencil: 'No 1 & part of No 2 Chamber B'.

Russell, 1991, p. 248, fig. 127.

PLATE 31

20 Slab 3:

On the adjoining slab was a mountain clothed with forests. Scattered amongst the trees were seen many warriors, some descending in military array, and leading prisoners towards a castle, the wall of which could be distinguished on the edge of the slab; others ascending the steep rocks with the aid of their spears, or resting, seated under the trees.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 126)

Layard, 1849b, pl. 69; Paterson, 1915, pl. 7 lower; Müller, 1928–9, p. 200, fig. 1; Yadin, 1963, p. 303 (detail).

20a Or.Dr. IV, 4; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard; 31.4 × 47.9 cm (40 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 3 Chamber B'.

Russell, 1991, p. 249, fig. 128; *SAA* IV, fig. 40.

PLATE 32

20b Photograph by King showing slab 3 and the right edge of slab 2 (**19**) *in situ*.

PLATE 33

21 Slab 4: The face of this slab had been completely destroyed; it probably depicted the same hilly country with forests shown on slab 3, and the remainder of the Assyrian camp below. A four-line inscription on the back of the slab has been recorded by Russell. It was repeated on other slabs and is quoted below (see **22**).

Layard, *LN* 1, fol. 45r; el-Wailly, 1966, fig. 5 before p. 1 (Arabic section); Madhloom & Mahdi, 1976, pl. 34; Russell, 1991, pp. 269–71, fig. 132.

22 Entrance *e* leading into Room V (G); lined with colossal bulls, which are still partly preserved.

The wall was here interrupted by an entrance formed by two winged bulls, nearly 16 1/2 feet square, and sculptured out of one slab. The human heads of these gigantic animals had disappeared. The inscription, which originally covered all parts of the slab not occupied by the relief, was so much defaced, that I was only able to copy a few lines of it. This entrance was narrow, scarcely exceeding six feet, differing in this respect from the entrances at Nimroud. The pavement was formed by one slab, elaborately carved with figures of flowers, resembling the lotus, and with other ornaments. Behind the bulls [and on the backs of the slabs] was a short inscription containing the name and titles of the king.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 126)

- 1 Palace of Sennacherib,
- 2 great king, king of the world,
- 3 king of Assyria, the almighty one,
- 4 the lord of all kings.

A further inscription has been recorded on the pavement by Russell; he illustrates the pavement which resembles **676** (see also **61d**).

1 Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria: a palace without a rival

2 for his lordly dwelling inside Nineveh he caused to be built anew.

Layard, *LN* 1, f. 45r (at that time called Entrance *d*); Layard, 1851, p. 75D; el-Wailly, 1966, figs 4 and 5 before p. 1 (Arabic section); Madhloom & Mahdi, 1976, pl. 34; Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 29–30, no. 7; Russell, 1991, p. 19, fig. 13, pp. 269–71.

22a-b This entrance appears on three of King's photographs:

22a North jamb seen from Room V (C, later G), with slab 47 (**82**) on the extreme left.

PLATE 33

22b South jamb (see also **47a**) with slab 4a (**23**) to its right.

PLATE 33

23 Slabs 4a-b: The first slabs to the north of Entrance *e*, not apparently recorded by Layard. According to the two-line inscription published by Russell, slab 4a depicted the siege of a city whose name no longer survives.

1 The city of [GN]

2 I besieged, I conquered.

el-Wailly, 1966, fig. 5 before p. 1 (Arabic section); Madhloom, 1972, pl. 22 left; Madhloom & Mahdi, 1976, pl. 34; Russell, 1991, pp. 270–1, fig. 134.

23a Photograph by King of the right half of slab 4a and slab 4b; see **22b** for the left half of slab 4a.

PLATE 34

24 Slab 5: Actually immediately opposite Entrance *a* (**5**) and not as drawn by Layard (Russell, 1991, pp. 48–9, figs 28–9); it is 5.38 m wide and consists of two slabs which are thicker than the others so as to accommodate a niche 10–15 cm deep, below which are two small registers (combined height, 30 cm) of 'animals and other booty moving to the right' (Russell, 1991, p. 49). Within the niche, on the extreme right, are 'the extremities of a human figure' facing left (Layard, 1849a, II, p. 127), which Russell suggests might have been part of a scene flanking a stylised tree as in Ashurnasirpal's palace (Russell, 1991, p. 50).

24a Photograph by King. Note that in fact the feet of *two* large figures are depicted.

PLATE 34

25 Slabs 6 + 7 + 8: Probably showed scenes similar to slab 3 with soldiers ascending mountains covered with forests. Slab 6 was almost completely destroyed.

Of the slabs forming the rest of the wall, to the end of the chamber, only two were sufficiently well preserved to be drawn, even in part, – those numbered 9 and 13 [**26** and **28**] in the plan. On the others [presumably 7–8, 10–12, **25** and **27**] I could trace, with difficulty, warriors descending and ascending thickly-wooded mountains, as in the bas-relief already described [**20**, slab 3].

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 127)

Russell, 1991, pp. 48–9, fig. 29 (slab 6).

26 Slab 9:

On No. 9 was the interior of a castle, the walls flanked by towers, and having angular battlements; the whole represented, as at Nimroud, by a kind of ground plan. The king, seated within, on a high chair or throne, was receiving his vizir, who was accompanied by his attendants. Behind the king stood two eunuchs, raising fans or fly-flappers over his head. Without the walls were prisoners, their hands confined by manacles: and within were represented the interiors of several houses and tents. In the tents were seen men apparently engaged in a variety of domestic occupations, and articles of furniture, such as tables, couches, and chairs. To the tent-poles were suspended some utensils, perhaps vases thus hung up, as is still the custom in the East, to cool water. Above the head of the king was one line of inscription containing his name and titles. The castle was built on a mountain, and was surrounded by trees. It had probably been captured by the Assyrians, and the bas-relief represented the king celebrating his victory, and receiving his prisoners within the walls.

(Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 127–8)

This describes the bottom left corner of slab 9; above the king and his tent is an inscription identifying Layard's 'castle' as: 'Camp of Sennacherib, king of Assyria'.

Layard, 1849b, pl. 77; Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, p. 343, fig. 156; Paterson, 1915, pl. 8; Unger, 1925, pp. 203 f., pl. 43b; Müller, 1928–9, p. 203, fig. 3; Yadin, 1963, p. 292; Bottéro, 1985, p. 39; Magen, 1986, p. 159 (purification of the army), pl. 17, 8.

26a Or.Dr. IV, 5; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed A. H. Layard; 31.7 × 44.7 cm (29.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Part of No 9 Chamber B'.

PLATE 35

27 Slabs 10 + 11 + 12: No drawings; too little remained, the sculptures having suffered from fire. These slabs probably represented mountains covered with forests, and perhaps the siege of another city. Slab 12 may be that illustrated by Madhloom (1972, pl. 26) and Madhloom and Mahdi (1976, pl. 31 – different photograph); it seems to be a corner slab.

28 Slab 13: At the north-west end of the room to the left of Entrance *d* (29). It is just visible on the left of King's photograph of the entrance (see 29a).

On slab No. 13 was recorded the conquest of a mountainous country. The enemy occupied the summit of a wooded hill, which they defended against numerous Assyrian warriors who were seen scaling the rocks, supporting themselves with their spears and with poles, or drawing themselves up by the branches of trees. Others, returning from the combat, were descending the mountains driving captives before them, or carrying away the heads of the slain.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 128)

Layard, 1849b, pl. 70; Layard, 1851, pls 59–62; Paterson, 1915, pl. 9; Meissner, 1920a, fig. 59; Nagel, 1967, p. 21, pl. 16, 2.

28a Or.Dr. IV, 6; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard, probably unfinished;³ 53.3 × 38.1 cm (35.2 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 13 Chamber B'.

PLATE 36

29 Slabs 1 and 2: Colossal winged bulls lining sides of Entrance *d* into Room III (G, later C);⁴ not drawn.

A spacious entrance at the upper end of the hall opened into a small chamber, which will be hereafter described. The bulls forming this portal were in better preservation than those discovered at the first entrance. The human heads, with the high and elaborately adorned tiara of the later Assyrian period, although greatly injured, could still be distinguished. Of the inscription also a considerable portion remained entire.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 128)

Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 30, no. 6.

29a–b Photographs by King showing part of slab 13 (28) and both sides of the entrance on 29a, and the northeast jamb and part of slab 14 (30) on 29b.

Barnett, 1969, pl. II:1 (29b); Russell, 1991, p. 250, fig. 129 (29b).

PLATE 37

30–31 Slabs 14 + 15: Forming the corner of the room to the right of Entrance *d* (29). For slab 14 *in situ* see 29b.

Vessels filled with warriors, and females, were represented leaving a castle, built on the sea-shore, and on the declivity of a mountain. A man stood at the castle gate, which opened immediately upon the water. A woman, who had already embarked in one of the ships, was seen stretching out her arms to receive a child which the man was giving to her. The sea was indicated by wavy lines, carried across the slab from top to bottom, and by fish, crabs, and turtles. The vessels were of two kinds; some had masts and sails as well as oars, others were impelled by rowers alone. They were furnished with two decks. On the upper stood warriors armed with spears, and women wearing high turbans or mitres. On the lower (which was probably divided into two compartments) were double sets of rowers; eight, and sometimes ten men sitting on a side, making sixteen or twenty in all. The sides of the upper deck, as well as the battlements of the castle on the sea shore, were hung with shields. From the costume of the figures, and the position of the city, it would appear that they were not Assyrians, but a conquered people, flying from the enemy. It will be shown that an Assyrian conquest of the Tyrians, or of some other nation occupying the coast of the Mediterranean, was probably recorded by the bas-relief.

(Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 128–9)

These two slabs have been interpreted (Barnett, 1956, p. 92) as representing the flight of Luli (Elulæus),⁵ king of Sidon, from the city of Tyre to Cyprus. Behind Luli can be distinguished the city gate and a large building inside, with a vaulted entrance flanked by a pair of columns,⁶ which Barnett suggested was a representation of the temple of Melkart. Prior to 1956, slab 15 had remained unpublished and most publications since that date illustrate both drawings (30a–31a).

Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 128–9, 385; Layard, 1849b, pl. 71; Layard, 1853a, pp. 73, 143; Ball, 1899, p. 197 (detail); Paterson, 1915, pl. 10 (only slab 14); Barnett, 1956, p. 93, fig. 9; Barnett, 1958a, pp. 226–7, pl. 22b; Harden, 1962, pp. 122 f., pl. 50; Barnett, 1969, pl. I:1–2; Katzenstein, 1973, pp. 253–5, n. 190; Wäfler, 1975, pl. 5:2; De Graeve, 1981, pp. 67–8, no. 87, pl. XLI; Russell, 1991, pp. 165, 250, figs 85, 129; SAA II, figs 9 and 8.

30a Or.Dr. IV, 7; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed A. H. Layard; 46.5 × 38.1 cm (34.6 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'No 14 Chamber B'.

PLATE 38

31a Or.Dr. IV, 8; Pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 41.2 × 31.4 cm (24.8 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'No 15 Chamber B'.

PLATE 38

30b-d Photographs by King; **30b** and **30d** also show part of slab 15 (**31**).

For further fragments which may belong to the upper part of slab 15 see below, **37–39**.

PLATES 39–41

32 Slabs 16 + 17: To the left of Entrance *c* (**12**) into Forecourt H; not drawn.

On the two slabs adjoining the sea piece was represented the besieging army. The upper part of both slabs had been destroyed; on the lower were still preserved a few Assyrian warriors, protected by the high wicker shield, and discharging arrows in the direction of the castle. Rows of prisoners, with their hands bound, were also seen led away by the conquerors. (Layard, 1849a, II, p. 129)

32a Photograph by King. In his notebook (*LN 1*, f. 46r) Layard states that, beneath the warriors on slab 16, 'corresponding with each group, are legs from the knee – they may have belonged to figures which were subsequently erased'. This establishes the position of the photograph taken by King, and the fragment removed from it. King's photograph shows that the recutting of the legs continued beneath the deportees on slab 17.

PLATE 42

32b Part of slab 16 in London, BM WA 124789 (48-11-4, 6): 60 × 73.6 cm.

An Assyrian archer discharging an arrow to the left; beside him a soldier protects him with a large body-shield, and behind them are two slingers; at the right of the fragment, traces of a warrior, facing right. Feet and legs of soldiers in the same positions can be seen at the bottom; this part was evidently sunk into the ground when the floor level was raised, and the slab was recarved.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, p. 71, no. 30; Paterson, 1915, pl. 98, no. 30; Smith, 1938, p. 17, pl. XLI; Nagel, 1967, p. 12, pl. 1; Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, pl. 67; Reade, 1983, p. 19, fig. 16; Russell, 1991, p. 447.

PLATE 42

33 Slabs 18 and 19: Facing each other within Entrance *c* (**12**) into Forecourt H.

It was formed by two winged human-headed bulls [12] and two slabs, with bas-reliefs representing a battle in a hilly country, wooded with pines or fir trees. All these sculptures had been greatly injured.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 130)

On No. 18 a row of prisoners at the bottom, above them warriors discharging their arrows – the rest of the slab occupied by mountains and pines.

(*LN 1*, f. 46r)

33a Photographed for King. King is shown standing on the remains of slab 17 with slab 16 to the left (**32**); the lady beside slab 18 has not been identified.⁷

Layard (1849a, II, p. 130) states: 'Beyond entrance *c* the slabs, to a distance of 14 ft [4.27 cm] had been entirely destroyed.' The photograph published by Madhloom and Mahdi (1976, pl. 20b), shows a fragmentary relief to the left of slab 20, also visible on King's photograph (**35a**).

PLATE 43

34 Slab 20 (see also **35a**):

First, partly preserved, was that numbered 20 in the plan. It was divided into six compartments. In the upper was represented the sack of a city, out of which men were dragging chariots, and driving horses and cattle; a second castle stood on a hill above. In the second and third compartments were combats between horsemen and warriors on foot; and in the remainder, rows of chariots, drawn by two horses and carrying each three warriors, preceded by horsemen armed with long spears. At the bottom of the slab, and between the warriors, were trees.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 130)

el-Wailly, 1965, fig. 3; Madhloom & Mahdi, 1976, pl. 32 (partial view of slab *in situ*) and cf. pl. 20b for the sequence of slabs *in situ*.

34a Or.Dr. IV, 9; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 53.3 × 39.7 cm (37.4 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 20 Chamber B'.

PLATE 44

34b Alternative drawing: Or.Dr. VI, 12; unsigned pencil drawing on greyish green paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, probably by C. D. Hodder; 61.5 × 48.2 cm (39 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'.

PLATE 45

35 Slabs 21 + 21a + 22: Only a few figures and a fragmentary inscription remained at the bottom; no drawings were made of these slabs and one of them Layard left unnumbered.⁸ They remain *in situ*.

Layard, *LN 1*, f. 46r.; Layard, 1849a, II, p. 130; Madhloom & Mahdi, 1976, pl. 20b with these slabs *in situ*; Russell, 1991, p. 272 and fig. 135 (inscription on slab 22/24?).

35a Photograph by King. Slab 20 and an unnumbered slab to its left appear in the distance beyond slabs 21–23. King seems to have re-excavated them but the northern end of the Throneroom was not yet cleared. The room was re-excavated by Madhloom but the slabs have deteriorated further since King's photograph.

PLATE 45

36 Slab 23: Re-excavated by King and again by Madhloom. Walls of a city with a large building with, on top of its tallest tower, a man holding a *vexillum*. There are wooded hills above, two rows of grooms with led horses, and at the bottom a row of various types of trees.

Madhloom, 1967, pl. X; Madhloom, 1972, pl. 12; Madhloom & Mahdi, 1976, pls 20b (with these slabs *in situ*) and 29.

36a Or.Dr. VI, 17; unsigned pencil drawing enhanced with white and brown wash on greenish grey paper, probably by C. D. Hodder; 62.8 × 48.2 cm (37.7 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'; 'WB' or 'MB' crossed out (see 369b note).

SAI IV, fig. 30.

PLATE 46

36b Photograph by King; slab 23 also appears on the right of photograph 35a.

PLATE 47

[5] Entrance *a* leading into Forecourt H.

The slabs between Entrance *a* and *b* are largely destroyed (see Madhloom & Mahdi, 1976, pl. 20b). Slab 24 bore a fragmentary and illegible four-line inscription recorded by Russell (1991, p. 272).

[1] Entrance *b* leading into Forecourt H.

Three fragments may belong to the upper part of slab 15 (31). They had probably fallen into the room and were found in the rubbish after 1851.

37 London, BM WA 139502 (1983-1-1, 45); 14 × 21.6 × 2.5 cm. Two heads of Phoenicians, facing left, on the upper deck of a galley at sea.

PLATE 40

38 London, BM WA 139503 (1983-1-1, 46); 21 × 15.9 × 7.6 cm. Head of a Phoenician woman holding a baby, and upper parts of Phoenician soldier on the upper deck of a galley at sea.

PLATE 40

39 Istanbul, AM 6337; dimensions unknown. Part of a war galley, with warriors on the upper deck, and rowers below. Gadd, 1936, p. 226.

PLATE 41

Notes

- 1 See Kolbe, 1981, pp. 1–14.
- 2 Madhloom, 1967, pp. 78 ff., pl. IX; Madhloom, 1969, pp. 47 f. '48 herabgestürzte Reliefs wurden an Ort und Stelle wieder eingesetzt' (Damerji & Hrouda, 1973, p. 190).
- 3 Whereas Or.Dr. IV, 6 shows the mountain-scale pattern only in its upper part, in the lithograph (Layard, 1849b, pl. 70) the whole landscape is covered with this pattern. This was not necessarily so on the original slab (see e.g. Barnett, 1976, pl. LXVI: on BM WA 124919 no mountain-scale pattern is shown on a wooded hill, where it would be expected). King's photograph is not clear enough to resolve the question.
- 4 Room III is labelled G on Layard's first published plan in 1849a, II, opp. p. 124 and in his notebook *LN* 1, f. 47r, whereas in all the later plans this room is marked C (G = V).
- 5 As Luli (730–701 BC) had his royal residence at Tyre, it is possibly that city which is represented on slab 15; see Eiselen, 1907, pp. 51, 155; Barnett, 1958a, p. 226. For an alternative view, see Gallagher, 1997.
- 6 Barnett (1969, p. 7) believes that these two columns may represent the twin columns, one of refined 'gold' and the other of *σμαραγδοζ* – a green stone, possibly green jasper or malachite – which stood before the temple

of Herakles-Melkart at Tyre (Herodotus II, 44). E. Bleibtreu believes that *ἐν ἀντῶ ἔσαν στῆλαι δύο* ... refers to pillars *inside* the temple, probably part of an altar, as proposed by several commentators on Herodotus.

- 7 King can be identified by comparison with the portrait photograph of him in Budge, 1925, opp. p. 174. Possibilities for the identification of his companion are 'Miss Martin', a missionary living in Mosul (D'Andrea, 1981, pp. 248, 249), or 'Miss Ussher', the secretary of an octogenarian American woman named 'Miss Brereton', who visited Mosul in March 1904 (D'Andrea, 1981, p. 259). King himself did not marry until 1906 (Miss Anna Burke), and there is no mention in the correspondence of any visit by his sister Florence, though the mention of her 'bothering' Campbell Thompson during King's absence in 1902 (D'Andrea, 1981, p. 146) might indicate an interest in Assyriology. [TCM]
- 8 Slabs 21 and 22 are erroneously numbered 20 and 21 in Layard's notebook. Seven slabs on the east wall were still (1985) at least partly *in situ* (report by Mr D. Tucker), although only three of them are numbered on Layard's plan, hence some discrepancy in the numbers attributed to the reliefs.

ROOM II

This room, like the two adjacent rooms to the southwest, is shown as hypothetical in Layard's plan. Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 29, assume on their plan of the palace that this room with its Entrance *g* did not exist and no trace of it was found in Madhloom's excavations. See Turner's comments in Chapter 3 above and Russell, 1991, pp. 50, 340.

ROOM III (G, later C) (PLATES 48–49)

Entered from Throneroom I (B) through Entrance *d* (30). The renumbering of this room caused some confusion and the inscription published by Layard (1851, p. 75E) as coming from slab 2 in this room is actually on slab 11 (54) in Room V (C, later G). Despite Layard's claims to the contrary, it is possible that a doorway in the north wall led to a stairwell (see Turner's discussion in Chapter 3, above). In 1989 none of the slabs from this room was visible (Russell, 1991, p. 50). Layard, however, described them in some detail.

The wide portal, formed by the winged bulls at the upper end of chamber B [the Throneroom], opened into a small chamber, which had no other entrance. One side of it was completely destroyed. On the remaining slabs were represented the siege and sack of a city, standing between two rivers, in the midst of groves of palm trees. From the absence of mountains, the nature of the trees, and the two rivers, it may be conjectured that the sculptures in this chamber recorded the conquest of some part of Mesopotamia, or the subjugation of a people, inhabiting that country, who had rebelled against the authority of the Assyrian king. Fortunately a short inscription above the captured city has been preserved almost entire (45, slab 8); and we may hope to find in it the name of the conquered nation. The king was represented several times, in his chariot amidst groves of palm trees, and preceded and followed by warriors. The besiegers were seen cutting down the palms to open and clear the approaches to the city. (Layard, 1849a, II, p. 137)

Layard, *LN* 1, f. 53r; Paterson, 1915, p. 5; Wäfler, 1975, p. 367; Reade, 1979a, p. 86; Russell, 1991, pp. 50, 340; Russell, 1995, p. 75.

40 Slabs 1 + 2 + 3: Only the lower part of these slabs remained, representing horses on the banks of a river; not drawn.

41 Slab 4: The slab was probably divided horizontally by a river, and the upper half was in two registers. Only the lower register and the right part of the middle remain; these show two rows of palm trees growing on the banks of two rivers. An Assyrian archer on a river bank, protected by a soldier carrying a body shield, is shooting towards the right; below, an Assyrian spearman, and a pair of auxiliary archers advance towards the left, along a river bank, followed by the horses with the king in his chariot. Sennacherib, holding a bow in his left hand and raising his right hand, is flanked by the driver and his sunshade-bearer.

Layard, 1849a, II, opp. p. 137 (detail showing the king in his chariot); Layard, 1849b, pl. 72; Paterson, 1915, pl. 12 upper; Magen, 1986, p. 159.

41a Or.Dr. IV, 39; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 43.8 × 38.1 cm (33.6 cm).
Annotation in pencil: '*No 4 Chamber G*'.

PLATE 48

42 Slab 5: Warriors in a river could be traced by Layard (i.e. marching along a river?).

43 Slab 6: Only a line of warriors could be traced by Layard.

44 Slab 7: No drawing was made, because the slab was too severely damaged. It represented the king in his chariot and two rows of warriors below.

45 Slab 8: Slab divided horizontally by a river; the upper half shows in two registers seven pairs of Assyrian soldiers chopping down large palm trees in full fruit. The middle part of the lower half has been largely destroyed; a city wall with buildings inside, and palm trees remain. Soldiers appear on the roofs; at the right side is the king in his chariot (most of it is missing in the drawing), followed by soldiers leading horses; above them an inscription:

- 1 Dilbat I besieged, I conquered,
- 2 I carried off its spoil.

Only the king's tiara and sunshade remained; he and his attendants were represented at about a third of the size of the soldiers above, and half the size of those below, who are carrying booty towards the left; at the right below, a ritual celebration takes place outside the city walls, two musicians play on horizontal harps, and before them a slaughtered bull and an offering table are depicted. At the bottom is a second river with fish.

Perhaps relevant is the statement that in the time of Tiglath-pileser III, Dilbat was a 'cult city without rival' (Rost, 1893, p. 56, 11; Malbran-Labat, 1982, pp. 79, 84, 139 f.).

Layard, 1849a, II, p. 137; Layard, 1849b, pl. 73; Ball, 1899, pp. 174 f.; Paterson, 1915, pl. 13; Nagel, 1967, p. 5, n. 24; Magen, 1986, p. 159.

45a Or.Dr. IV, 41; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 53.3 × 39 cm (34.2 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*No 8 Chamber G*'.

Reade, 1980, pl. 7; Russell, 1991, p. 154, fig. 78; *SAA* VIII, fig. 24.

PLATE 49

ROOM IV (A)

This room, probably a bathroom (see Turner, Chapter 3, above), was the first to be located by Layard when he began digging. It was re-excavated by Madhloom and the fragmentary reliefs are displayed *in situ*. The room was entered from Throne-room I (B).

The first chamber seen, on entering the trenches from the ravine, was that marked A, in the plan. The two slabs which once formed its entrance had been almost entirely destroyed. Upon the lower part of them could be distinguished the feet and claws of an eagle or vulture, and it is probable that the bas-relief, when entire, represented a human figure with the head and extremities of a bird. The relief must have been, I think, even higher than that of the sculptures of Khorsabad. All the slabs within the chamber had been as much injured as those at the entrance. The upper part of the wall had been completely destroyed; on the lower (about three feet of which remained) could be traced processions of warriors, and captives passing through a thickly-wooded, mountainous country; the mountains being represented, as in the bas-reliefs of Nimroud, by a network of lines. On the fragment of a slab [slab 11], I could distinguish an altar or tripod, with vessels of various shapes near it. An eunuch, carrying an utensil resembling a censer, stood before the altar.
(Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 124–5)

Layard, *LN* 1, f. 44r.; Paterson, 1915, p. 5; Reade, 1979a, p. 86; Russell, 1991, pp. 50–1, 340; Russell, 1995, p. 72.

[18] Entrance *f* leading from Throneroom I (B).

46 Slabs 1–14 are numbered on the plan, but were too severely damaged to be drawn. Slab 2 showed trees, slab 4 a fortress, and slab 8 a led horse. Russell has plausibly suggested that the 'censer' and 'tripod' on slab 11 may be parts of a balance. Slabs 4 and 8 have recently been destroyed and looted (Russell, 1997).

el-Wailly, 1966, page c; Turner, 1970b, p. 192; Madhloom, 1972, pl. 28 left; Russell, 1991, pp. 50–1, figs 30–1 (slabs 11 and 2); Russell, 1997, pp. 13–14, figs 13–15 (slab 4) and p. 19, fig. 19 (slab 8).

ROOM V (C, later G) (PLATES 50–76)

Entrance *e* (22) leading from the Throneroom into Room V was lined with entrance bulls, as was the second doorway *a* (61) of this room, leading into Court VI. The room had suffered from fire, but according to Layard's notebook, slabs 1–18 and 27–30 had largely survived, and though many of those in the series 31–47 were in a very dilapidated state, it was possible to draw slabs 32, 35, 36, 37, 39 and 45.¹ Slabs 19–26 were completely effaced, and Layard refers to fragments of slabs in the debris (1849a, II, p. 130). In addition to the drawings made in Layard's time, it is

probably necessary to attribute some of the later drawings to this room.² According to Madhloom's report, all the slabs mentioned by Layard are still *in situ*. General photographs of the room were taken by King (65b) and by Madhloom (in the latter case the photographs showing the room in the course of restoration are reversed). The 'doorway' visible in these photographs was probably the well described by Layard (1849a, II, p. 133 – see 65 below).

The reliefs depict a campaign in wooded, mountainous country. Two place names are mentioned: one (70) may be Aranzash/Erinziash, mentioned elsewhere in connection with Harhar and Ellipi in the east, and the other (54) is Kasusi which is not otherwise attested.

Layard, *LN 1*, ff. 47r–49r; Madhloom, 1969, pl. 20B; Madhloom, 1972, pl. 28; Wäfler, 1975, p. 367; Madhloom & Mahdi, 1976, pl. 35; Reade, 1979a, p. 86; Russell, 1991, pp. 51–2, 341; Russell, 1995, pp. 73–4; Russell, 1997, fig. 2.

47 Slabs 1 + 2 + 3 (corner): Only details drawn.

The three first slabs to the left appear to have been each divided into three compartments. In the first and second were rows of archers and slingers; and in the third, warriors marching in single file, and each carrying a spear and a shield.

(Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 130–1)

The lower part of slab 1 is preserved *in situ* and has an inscription on the rear; slab 2 appears blank *in situ*, and the corner slab 3a with bowmen has an inscription, whereas slab 3b shows slingers facing right. Cuneiform tablets were found at the foot of slab 2 (*LN 1*, f. 49r).

47a Photograph by King showing Entrance *e* (22) from the Throne-room, with slab 1 on the right.

PLATE 52

47b Details of slab 1 published by Madhloom (Madhloom, 1967, pl. VIII A = Wäfler, 1975, pl. 22:2; Madhloom, 1972, pl. 24; Madhloom & Mahdi, 1976, pl. 33a); verified by Russell (1991, p. 280). Recently destroyed and looted (Russell, 1997, p. 12, figs 10–12).

PLATE 52

47c Details from slabs 1 and 3 (corner): Or.Dr. IV, 12; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard; 18.5 × 36.8 cm. Annotation in pencil: 'No 3 Chamber C Spearman'. 'No 3 Chamber C Slinger'. 'No 1 Chamber C Archer'.

PLATE 52

47d-e Photographs by King showing slabs 1–4 (47–48) *in situ*; part of slab 5 (49) is shown on the extreme right of 47d.

PLATE 53

48 Slab 4: Not drawn; archers are attacking a city represented on slabs 5 and 6. Shown on King's photographs 47d and e.

48a Photograph in the files of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities showing part of this slab *in situ*.

PLATE 54

49–50 Slabs 5 + 6:

On the following slabs was one subject – the taking by assault of a city or castle, built near a river in a mountainous country, and surrounded by trees. Warriors, armed with spears, were scaling the rocks, and archers, discharging their arrows at the besieged, stood at the foot of the mountain. The upper half of both slabs, containing the greater part of the castle and the figures of those who manned its walls, had been destroyed.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 131)

Layard, 1849b, pls 79 and 78; Paterson, 1915, pl. 14.

49a Slab 5: Or.Dr. IV, 40; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed A. H. Layard; 29.2 × 38.1 cm (31.4 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 5 Chamber G'.

Only the lower half of the slab was preserved with damaged surface; part of it is visible on the extreme right of King's photograph 47d. The lower section of a city wall with two arched gateways can be recognized on the right upper edge; two enemies are falling from the wall; Assyrian archers and spearmen are ascending to attack. At the foot of the wooded hill is a small river with fish.

PLATE 54

50a Slab 6: Or.Dr. IV, 13; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed A. H. Layard; 49.8 × 38.1 cm (33.6 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 6 Chamber C' (corrected from G).

On the sixth slab the same castle was continued. The walls were carried down the sides of the mountain to its foot; and houses were represented on the banks of the river. The archers and spearmen of the besieging army, were assembled without the city. Some warriors had already mounted the walls, and were slaying the besieged on the house tops; whilst others were leading off the captives they had taken. The river was full of fish, tortoises, and eels.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 131)

For a similar balcony to that used by the besieged, see Barnett & Falkner, 1962, pl. 10. Unfortunately, this city is also unidentified.

Reade, 1980, pl. 2.

PLATE 55

51 Slab 7 (corner):

The adjoining corner stone was divided into three compartments; the upper contained mountains and trees: in the centre were represented an eunuch, and a bearded scribe, writing down on rolls of parchment or leather, the number of heads of the enemy which were brought to them by two warriors, who were placing their trophies in a heap at the feet of the registrars. In the lower compartment were three warriors with spears and shields.

(Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 131–2)

Layard, 1849a, II, p. 184 (partial view); Russell, 1991, p. 281 (verified on site).

51a Or.Dr. IV, 14; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed A. H. Layard; 53.3 × 25 cm (right half of corner slab) (14.9 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Half No 7 Chamber C'.

PLATE 56

52 Slab 8: Not drawn; this slab, which is still *in situ*, is in poor condition.

On No. 8 was the king in his chariot, preceded by warriors on foot. At the bottom of the slab was a river, and at the top, mountains and trees. This bas-relief was also much injured.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 132)

53 Slabs 9 + 10: Not drawn; badly damaged with a 'castle' (Assyrian camp?) in wooded mountainous country, and led horses.

54 Slab 11: Not drawn. The king in his chariot preceded by warriors. There was an inscription over the king which Layard wrongly published as coming from slab 2 in Room III (G, later C).

- 1 Sennacherib, king of [the world]
- 2 king of Assyria, [the booty]
- 3 of Kasu[si(?)]
- 4 pa[sses] before him.

55 Slabs 12 + 13:

On the five following slabs, which were almost entirely defaced, could be traced one subject, the siege and sack of a city. The king appeared in his chariot, and warriors were seen driving off prisoners and cattle. The mountains and river still indicated the scene of the events recorded.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 132)

56 Slab 14: Only the lower part of the slab remained; two female prisoners, their heads covered with veils, followed by two male prisoners with their hands tied behind their backs, escorted towards the left by an Assyrian archer; behind him cattle and a flock of sheep and goats in wooded mountainous country.

Layard, 1849a, II, p. 132.

56a Or.Dr. IV, 15; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 24.7 × 40.6 cm (30.48 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 14 Ch. C'.

SAA II, fig. 12.

PLATE 57

57 Slab 15: Not drawn; prisoners of war advancing towards the left in wooded mountainous country; *in situ*, preserved to full height.

58 Slab 16: Not drawn; soldiers attacking a city. For photographs see Russell, 1997, p. 15, figs 16–18, recently destroyed and looted.

59 Slab 17: The slab represented the Assyrian attack on a city described in detail in *LV* 1, f. 48r. On the drawing only a small part is depicted; *in situ*, poorly preserved. Partly shown in Layard, 1849a, II, p. 388, who suggested that the city might be Tyre purely on the basis of a passage in Ezekiel 27:11 which describes how the Phoenicians hung shields from their battlements. However, the presence of a lower city and no indication of sea would seem to preclude this.

59a Or.Dr. IV, 16; unsigned pencil drawing probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper on whitish paper; 20 × 31.1 cm (19.6 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 17 Ch. C'.

PLATE 57

60 Slabs 18 + 19 + 20:

A double row of archers survived on part of slab 18 but the remainder had been entirely destroyed.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 132)

61 Entrance *a* from Court VI (called *b* by Layard in 1849a, II).

The winged bulls, forming the entrance into the hall to the west, were also in a very dilapidated condition, and the heads were wanting. Between them I discovered a lion-headed human figure, raising a sword or staff in one hand. It was sculptured on a small slab. Half the figure had been destroyed.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 132)

Layard, 1849b, pl. 82 top; Kolbe, 1981, *passim*; Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 29–31, no. 8; Green, 1986a, p. 198, pl. 18, no. 83; Russell, 1991, p. 105, fig. 53 (photograph of the southern bull).

61a-b Photographs by King of the southern bull, front and back.

PLATE 58

61c Or.Dr. IV, 11; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 28.2 × 20.9 cm (7.6 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Fragment – Kouyunjik – between winged bulls, Ch. C'.

The ears of a mule are to be expected on the lion-demon's head. Green has drawn attention to the fact that the surface is damaged in the area of the head, so a mule's ears might have been defaced.

PLATE 58

61d Pavement slab: Or.Dr. IV, 10; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, signed *T. S. Bell*; 41.2 × 29.5 cm (upper 10.5 cm, lower 15.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Ornament, Kouyunjik between winged Bulls Chamber C'.

Two sections are illustrated. In the upper detail, four lotus flowers and four buds emerge from a central rosette. The pattern is set between two lines of rosettes. The lower drawing shows four rows of plant ornaments, the first, third and fourth: rosettes; the second: a lotus-and-cone garland. Since the Entrance to Room III (G, later C) had no colossi, this slab must have decorated an entrance in Room V (C, later G). It cannot have been Entrance *e* (22) because Russell's photograph of that pavement (1991, p. 19, fig. 13) shows only one row of rosettes, and no lotus flowers. It must, therefore, be the pavement in Entrance *a*, but this is shown neither on King's nor on Russell's photographs and may now be destroyed.

Cf. 329 and note the different decoration of the cones; Albenda, 1978, p. 14, pl. 8.

PLATE 58

62 Slabs 21 + 22 + 23 + 24 + 25: Not drawn; almost entirely destroyed with only the bottom preserved *in situ*, showing trees on slabs 21 and 22.

63 Slab 26 (corner): Only preserved at the bottom, *in situ*. Campaign in wooded mountainous country along a river; not drawn.

64 Slab 27: Not drawn.

On slab No. 27 could be traced a double row of warriors, carrying spears and shields, separated by a river from horsemen riding amongst mountains.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 133)

65 Slabs 28 + 29: Not drawn.

No. 28 had been entirely destroyed by a well, opened in this part of the mound, and carried through the wall. On No. 29 could be distinguished men leading horses, and warriors bringing the heads of the slain to the scribes. The bottom of the slab was occupied by horsemen ascending mountains separated by a river from the figures above.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 133)

65a Photograph by King showing the lower part of slab 29 *in situ*.

PLATE 59

65b Photograph by King showing slabs 29 (to left of the figure and still only partially excavated) to 38 (broken, in right foreground).

PLATE 59

66 Slab 30:

No. 30 was better preserved than any of the preceding slabs. The king stood in a chariot, holding a bow in his left hand, and raising his right in token of triumph. He was accompanied by a charioteer, and by an attendant bearing an umbrella, to which was hung a long curtain falling behind the back of the king, and screening him entirely from the sun. The chariot was drawn by two horses, and was preceded by spearmen and archers. Above the king was originally a short inscription, probably containing his name and titles, but it had been entirely defaced. Horsemen, crossing well-wooded mountains, were separated from the group just described by a river abounding in fish.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 133)

Russell (1991, pp. 273–4 with a photograph on fig. 137) has recorded a fragmentary inscription but the name of the city is broken. His translation is given here:

- 1 S[ennacherib, king of the world,]
- 2 king of [Assyria, the boot]
- 3 of [GN]
- 4 passed in rev[iew before him].

Layard, 1849b, pl. 80; Paterson, 1915, pl. 12 lower; Magen, 1986, p. 159.

66a Or.Dr. IV, 17; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 53.3 × 35.2 cm (27.9 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*No 30, Chamber C*'.

PLATE 60

66b Photograph by King showing slabs 30–32 *in situ*; see also **65b**.

PLATE 61

67 Slab 31 (corner): Not drawn; led horses and grooms advancing towards the left, along a river; below, spearmen on horseback. The slab is shown on two photographs by King (**66b** and **68b** on the extreme left); see also **65b**.

68 Slab 32: Right part of slab destroyed; wooded hills above, led horses and grooms with spears advancing towards the left, with part of a fortified Assyrian camp with two types of tents to right; below, the river full of fish which continues that on slabs 30–31 and divides the slab horizontally; below it, foreign mounted spearmen are riding towards the right on top of wooded hills.³

68a Or.Dr. IV, 18; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard; 52.7 × 38.1 cm (33.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*No 32 Chamber C*'.

PLATE 62

68b Photograph by King showing slab 32 with parts of 31 and 33 to left and right.

PLATE 63

69 Slabs 33 + 34: Not drawn; in the upper and lower registers archers with body shields discharging arrows towards the right.

69a Photograph by King of slab 33, showing part of slab 32 to the left; see also **70b** and **65b**.

PLATE 63

70–71 Slabs 35–36:

On Nos 36 and 37 [actually 35 and 36] the taking by assault of a city was portrayed [sic] with great spirit. Warriors, armed with spears, were mounting ladders placed against the walls; those who manned the battlements and towers being held in check and assailed by archers who discharged their arrows from below. The enemy defended themselves with spears and bows, and carried small oblong shields. Above the castle a small inscription recorded most probably the name of the city captured by the Assyrians; it had unfortunately suffered great injury, a few characters only being preserved. Under the castle walls were captives, driven off by the conquerors; and at the bottom and top of the slab were mountains, trees, and a river, to indicate the nature of the country in which the event represented took place.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 134)

70 Slab 35: The left half of the slab was defaced as was the right edge; wooded hills above, with river at the foot of the hills. Three lines of inscription (damaged) above a large city wall, attacked by Assyrian archers using ladders. The defenders of the city have oblong shields. A row of captives led towards the right, and a row of trees at the bottom. The inscription, copied separately by Layard, names the city of Aranziaš/Erinziaš, conquered during Sennacherib's second campaign, which is to be located in the vicinity of Harhar and Ellipi. The restoration of the epigraph is that proposed by Russell (1991, p. 273).

- 1 [The city of Aranz]iaš
- 2 [I besieged, I conquered]
- 3 [I carried off its sp]oil.

70a Or.Dr. IV, 19; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 55.2 × 34.9 cm (21.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*No 35 Chamber C*'.

Russell, 1991, p. 157, fig. 80.

PLATE 64

70b Photograph by King showing slab 35 with parts of slabs 34 (**69**) and 36 (**71**) to left and right; see also **65b**.

PLATE 65

71 Slab 36: This slab was damaged on the left.

Layard, 1849a, p. 134, ill. opp. p. 372; Layard, 1849b, pl. 68; Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, pp. 489 f., fig. 220; Paterson, 1915, pl. 15; Madhloom,

1972, pl. 27 and Madhloom & Mahdi, 1976, pl. 33b (partial view of slab 36 *in situ* before restoration).

71a Or.Dr. IV, 20; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 44.7 × 37.1 cm (34.9 cm).
Annotation in pencil: '*No 36 Chamber C*'.
SAA V, fig. 31.
PLATE 66

71b Photograph by King, showing slab 36 with parts of slabs 35 (70) and 37 (72) to left and right; see also **70b** and **65b**.
PLATE 67

72 Slab 37: The right part of the slab is destroyed; the left appears on a photograph by King (**71b**); see also **65b**.
Layard, 1849a, II, p. 134; Madhloom, 1967, pl. XIA (middle part of upper row of soldiers, *in situ*); Madhloom & Mahdi, 1976, pl. 30; Russell, 1991, p. 281 (verified on site).

72a Or.Dr. IV, 21; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 52.7 × 38.7 cm (33 cm).
Annotations in pencil: '*No 37 Chamber C*'.
PLATE 68

73 Slab 38: Almost entirely destroyed, only trees at the bottom *in situ*. It appears in the right foreground of one of King's photographs (**65b**).

74 Slab 39: Said to have been drawn (*LN I*, f. 49r.) but this is probably due to confusion with slab 41 (76). Now almost entirely destroyed; only hooves of horses at the bottom still *in situ*.

75 Slab 40: Not drawn; now almost entirely destroyed.

76 Slab 41: A large Assyrian camp. Reported stolen in 1995.
Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 468–9; Russell, 1991, p. 281 (verified on site in 1990); photographs in Russell, 1997, figs 4–5.

76a The original drawing has not survived but a woodcut from it of the upper left part was published by *Layard* (1849a, II, p. 469) and reproduced by *Paterson* (1915, pl. 94 bottom left); it is unsigned.⁴
Two priests before an incense burner, an offering table, and a cultic chariot; behind them, a goat being brought; below, a dromedary followed by two officers and two other figures.
PLATE 69

76b Photograph by King.
PLATE 69

77 Slab 42: Not drawn; led horses moving towards the left in mountainous country.

78 Slab 43: Not drawn; a city on the banks of a river in mountainous country. Russell (1997) confuses this with slab 41 which is not beside a river.

79 Slab 44: Not drawn; soldiers on foot and cavalry advancing towards the left.

80 Slab 45: The slab seems to have been divided into three registers. Only small parts of the two upper registers, representing led horses, survived; on the lowest register were the banks of a river, and a wooded mountainous area at the bottom.

80a Or.Dr. IV, 22; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 29.2 × 21.2 cm (7.6 cm), scale: 1 in. = 1 ft. (1:12).
Annotation in pencil: '*Kouyunjik No 45 Chamber C Plan*'.
PLATE 69

81 Slab 46: *In situ*, defaced.

82 Slab 47: Not drawn; soldiers and cavalry moving towards the left, along a river in mountainous wooded country. The slab appears on the extreme left of one of King's photographs (**22a**).

[22] Entrance *e* leading from Throneroom I (B).

The following drawings have been placed here because of their similarity to those of other reliefs from this room. There are several places from which they could have come (see **57**, **58** and **62**). The counter-clockwise numbering is not significant (compare for example **227b**, **228b** and **229b-c**).

83 Slabs (?): Or.Dr. II, 73; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 37.4 × 54.6 cm (39 cm); measurements given: H. 4 ft. 4 in.; W. 5 ft. 6 in. (132 × 167.6 cm).
Annotations in pencil: '*No 5 Fourth Series*' '*No 4 Fourth Series*'. Lower part of two slabs; traces of an upper register showing a row of captives led towards the left; below, two Assyrian soldiers and an auxiliary archer drive prisoners towards the left, pulling their hair and striking them, followed by women; two rows of trees in mountainous terrain, at the bottom of the slab.
PLATE 70

84 Slab (?): Or.Dr. II, 72; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 37.8 × 55.8 cm (55.8 cm); measurements given: H. 4 ft. 4 in.; W. 7 ft. (132 × 213.4 cm).
Annotations in pencil: '*No 3 slab of fourth series*' '*N.B.: 1 & 2 of this series are in ruins*'.

Lower part of a slab, partly damaged, representing a row of Assyrian warriors on the flat top of a wooded hill, an auxiliary spearman with a round shield is driving prisoners towards the left, two groups of archers discharge arrows towards the right, and two Assyrian archers are shooting from behind body shields; below the slope of the hill, a row of deportees – perhaps Phoenician women⁵ is advancing towards the left; above them part of a ladder and a fallen headless corpse.
PLATE 71

85 Slab (?): Or.Dr. II, 75; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 54.9 × 38.1 cm (35.2 cm); measurements given: H. 4 ft. 9 in.; W. 6 ft. 4 in. (144.7 × 193 cm).
Annotation in pencil: '*No 6 second series*'.

Two rows of Assyrian soldiers in action towards the right in wooded mountainous country; in each row, three pairs of slingers preceded by a pair of archers above, and archers behind a body shield below.

PLATE 72

86 Slab (?): Or.Dr. II, 59 upper; pencil drawing on brownish paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 23.1 × 34.9cm (26 cm).

Small, irregularly-shaped fragment from the bottom of a slab, showing two grooms leading horses towards the left, in mountainous wooded country.

PLATE 73

87 Slab (?): Or.Dr. VI, 23; unsigned pencil drawing on greyish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, probably by C. D. Hodder; 49.2 × 57.7 cm (42.4 cm); scale given: 2-1/2" to the foot (1:4.8).

Annotation in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'.

Two rows of led horses with grooms, facing left, a small slightly undulating river with fish, and a row of trees growing from the bottom of the slab; mountain-scale pattern above and below.

PLATE 73

The following fragments may possibly belong to Room V:

88 Manchester, City Art Gallery and Athenaeum, Acc. no. VII a 11; presented by Miss Allen of Manchester, through Professor H. H. Rowley; 32.7 × 34.6 cm.

An Assyrian archer leading a horse towards the left; only his arm holding the bridle, part of the bow-case on his back, and the head and neck of the horse survive. Possibly a fragment of slabs 9 + 10 [53] or 12 + 13 [55] which depicted the King's escort, or slab 47 (82).

PLATE 74

89 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1950.240; ex Lady Layard Collection and Museum and Art Gallery, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire; 34.3 × 49.5 × 4.1 cm.

The upper half of an Assyrian archer, holding a lance and the bridle of a horse of which only the head and chest survive, facing left in mountainous country.

Weidner, 1954-6, p. 183;⁶ Reade, 1972, p. 111, pl. XXXIXc; Sherratt, 1984, p. 5; Moorey, 1987, p. 13, fig. 11.

PLATE 74

90 London, BM WA 102074 (97-10-8, 3); presented by Miss H. G. Wainwright in 1897; reported missing in April 1961; 25.4 × 31.7 cm.

Battle scene in mountainous country, showing the heads of two archers, facing right, bending their bows, and, behind them, the arm of a third warrior, facing left, gripping a shield.

Barnett, 1962-3, pp. 198-200, fig. 6.

PLATE 75

91 Paris, Louvre, AO 2255 (ex 80); 47.9 × 40.3 cm.

Lower part of a slab, showing the attack on a city. Assyrian soldiers are climbing up two ladders; a kneeling archer is discharging an arrow. See also 320 for an alternative location.

Pottier, 1917, pp. 104 f., no. 80; Pijoán, 1931, p. 309, fig. 440.

PLATE 76

92-93 Not attributed.

Notes

- 1 Thanks are due to Mr D. Tucker who has kindly supplied a sketch plan of this room, made on 9 April 1985, which shows that the slabs were still *in situ* at that time.
- 2 I.e. drawings made under Rassam by H. A. Churchill and other artists after 1852.
- 3 These are horsemen from West Media, wearing skin cloaks, and with animal skins serving as horse-blankets, whereas the Assyrian soldiers above use woven, tasselled horse-blankets.
- 4 The woodcut published in Layard, 1849a, II, p. 469 seems to be different in style from all the other drawings. According to Layard's Notebook (*LN* 1, f. 49r.), slab 39 (74) rather than 41 (76) was drawn, but this was presumably a mistake because it is clear from Mr D. Tucker's sketch plan (n. 1 above) that the woodcut shows part of slab 41, and this is confirmed by Russell who identified the location of King's photograph (76b). Cf., however, Russell, 1997, figs 4-5, where the slab is identified as 43, but this, according to Tucker, has a river below the castle.
- 5 The same head-dress is represented on Or.Dr. IV, 7 (30a) next to the high headgear characteristic of Phoenician women; cf. Wäfler, 1975, p. 117.
- 6 Weidner, quoting Gadd, attributes this fragment to Room XXXII. This may be possible (cf. 370). As Weidner does not give any references, this could refer to correspondence with Gadd, probably after 1936, as this fragment is omitted in Gadd, 1936, p. 250.

COURT VI (I) (PLATES 77-127)

The main entrances on each of the four sides of this courtyard were flanked by human-headed winged bull-colossi facing into Court VI (I): Entrance *a* (61) into Room V (C, later G), Entrance *d* (140) into Room VII (R), Entrance *g* (127) into Room IX (P), and Entrance *k* (114) into Room XIII (J). These entrances were supplemented by side-entrances: Entrance *b* (154) leading to an unexcavated area, remains uncertain; Entrances *c* (145) and *e* (134), like *d*, led into Room VII (R); Entrances *f* (131) and *h* (123), like *g*, led into Room IX (P); Entrance *i* (120), in the southern corner of Court VI (I), and shown on the plan as wide as the main entrances, led into the passage Room XII (L). Entrances *j* (118) and *l* (107), like *k*, led into Room XIII (J); Entrance *m* (97-98), in the southeast corner, led into Room XVIII, which seems to have been a passage leading, via Room XX, into the largest courtyard, Court XIX (U).

The four main entrances of Court VI (I) were flanked by winged figures, each filling the entire height of a slab (cf. Or.Dr. IV, 1 = 3a) as well as by two smaller figures, one above the other (cf. Or.Dr. IV, 2 = 4a). One of the four figures of this type lining Entrance *k* was sent to London (113a).

Layard, *LN* 1, f. 55r and *LN* 2C, ff. 6r-7v; Paterson, 1915, pp. 6-7; Gadd, 1936, pp. 171, 250; Wäfler, 1975, p. 364; Reade, 1979a, p. 88; Russell, 1991, pp. 52-3, 98, fig. 49, p. 341; Russell, 1995, pp. 77-8.

The subterranean passages were narrow, and were propped up when necessary either by leaving columns of earth, as in mines, or by wooden beams. These long galleries, dimly lighted, lined with the remains of ancient art, broken urns projecting from the crumbling sides, and the wild Arab and hardy Nestorian wandering through their intricacies, or working in their dark recesses, were singularly picturesque.

Toma Shishman had removed the workmen from the southern corner of the mound, where the sculptures were much injured, and had opened tunnels in a part of the building previously explored, commencing where I had left off on my departure from Mosul. I descended into the vaulted passages by an inclined way, through which the workmen issued from beneath to throw away the rubbish dug out from the ruins. At the bottom I found myself before a wall forming the southern side of the great Hall, discovered, though only partly explored, during my former researches. The sculptures, faintly seen through the gloom, were still well enough preserved to give a complete history of the subject represented, although, with the rest of the bas-reliefs of Kouyunjik, the fire had nearly turned them to lime, and had cracked them into a thousand pieces. The faces of the slabs had been entirely covered with figures, varying from three inches to one foot in height, carefully finished, and designed with great spirit. (Layard, 1853a, pp. 69–70)

By the end of November [1849] several entire chambers had been excavated at Kouyunjik, and many bas-reliefs of great interest had been discovered. The four sides of the hall, part of which has already been described, had now been explored. ([Note:] It will be borne in mind that it was necessary to carry tunnels round the chambers, and along the walls, leaving the centre buried in earth and rubbish, a very laborious and tedious operation with no more means at command than those afforded by the country.) In the centre of each side was a grand entrance, guarded by colossal human-headed bulls. ([Note:] All these entrances were formed in the same way as that in the south-eastern side, [114] . . . namely, by a pair of human-headed bulls, flanked on each side by a winged giant, and two smaller figures one above the other.) This magnificent hall was no less than 124 feet in length by 90 feet in breadth, the longest sides being those to the north and south. It appears to have formed a centre, around which the principal chambers in this part of the palace were grouped. Its walls had been completely covered with the most elaborate and highly finished sculptures. Unfortunately all the bas-reliefs, as well as the gigantic monsters at the entrances, had suffered more or less from the fire which had destroyed the edifice; but enough of them still remained to show the subject, and even to enable me in many places to restore it entirely.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 102–3)

Layard describes the reliefs on the southeast, south and west walls of the Court as follows:

In this series of bas-reliefs the history of an Assyrian conquest was more fully portrayed than in any other yet discovered, from the going out of the monarch to battle, to his triumphal return after a complete victory. . . The king, accompanied by his chariots and horsemen, and leaving his capital in the Assyrian plains, passed through a mountainous and wooded district. He does not appear to have been delayed by the siege of many towns or castles, but to have carried the war at once into the high country. His troops, cavalry and infantry, are represented in close combat with their enemies, pursuing them over hills and through valleys, beside streams, and in the midst of vineyards. The Assyrian horsemen are armed with the spear and the bow, using both weapons whilst at full speed: their opponents seem to be all archers. The vanquished turn to ask for quarter;

or, wounded, fall under the feet of the advancing horses, raising their hands imploringly to ward off the impending deathblow. The triumph follows. The king standing in his chariot, beneath the royal parasol, followed by long lines of dismounted warriors leading richly caparisoned horses, and by foot soldiers variously armed and accoutred, is receiving the captives and spoil taken from the conquered people. First approach the victorious warriors, throwing the heads of slain into heaps before the registering officers. They are followed by others leading, and urging onwards with staves, the prisoners – men chained together, or bound singly in fetters, and women, some on foot, carrying their children on their shoulders, and leading them by the hand, others riding on mules. The procession is finished by asses, mules, and flocks of sheep. As on the bas-reliefs uncovered by Mr Ross, there is unfortunately no inscription by which the name of the conquered people can be determined. . . The mountains, valleys, and streams, the vines and dwarf oaks, probably indicate a region north of Assyria, in Armenia, Media, or Kurdistan, countries we know to have been invaded by the royal builder of the palace. The dress of the men consists of a short tunic; that of the women, of a shirt falling to the ankles, and cut low in front of the neck. (Layard, 1853a, pp. 70–1)

The remaining slabs were covered from top to bottom with rows of warriors, spearmen, and archers, in their respective costumes, and in military array. Each slab must have contained several hundred minute figures, sculptured with great care and delicacy. (Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 134–5)

[61] Entrance *a* leading into Room V (C, later G).

94 Slab 1: The left half of the slab represents mountainous country thickly wooded with pines or firs. Diagonally through the mountains in the upper half of the slab runs a path, down which the Assyrian cavalry is riding; beside this row of spearmen on horseback, the king in his chariot under the sun-shade is represented at the same scale as his warriors. In the middle is a small, slightly undulating river full of fish. The right half, partly damaged above, shows a vineyard in the valley on either side of the river, and at the bottom a hill wooded with deciduous trees.¹ Layard, 1849b, pl. 81; Paterson, 1915, pl. 16; Yadin, 1963, p. 459 (partial view).

94a Or.Dr. IV, 43; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 49.8 × 38.7 cm (33.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'No 1 Chamber I'*.

Reade, 1980, pl. 1a; Russell, 1991, p. 211, fig. 116; *SAI* VI, fig. 10.

PLATE 80

95 Slab 2: Not drawn; mountainous country with a river in the middle, Assyrian soldiers advancing towards the right.

96 Slabs 3 + 4 + 5: Not drawn, or mentioned by Layard; according to Layard's plan (PLATE 13) they formed a niche, the purpose of which is uncertain.

97–98 Entrance *m* leading into the narrow passage XVIII, flanked by slabs 6 and 7; Russell (1991, p. 281) has verified that the west jamb (slab 7), re-excavated by Madhloom, depicts Assyrians on campaign in wooded mountains.

99 Slab 8: Not drawn; probably represented rows of Assyrian soldiers marching towards the right, with vineyards in the valley, and wooded hills at the bottom; the scene continues on slabs 9 + 10.

100–101 Slabs 9 + 10: Only the lower half of the slabs remained; on slab 9 two rows of Assyrian soldiers marching towards the right; part remains of the surrounding wall of a circular Assyrian camp with tents inside. On slab 10 was represented the king's bodyguard and his chariot, of which only the wheel remained; below it, a row of horses led by soldiers. At the bottom of both slabs, foot soldiers following cavalry over the top of a wooded hill.

100a–101a Or.Dr. IV, 44; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by F. C. Cooper or A. H. Layard, enhanced with white and black, on greyish paper; 32.7 × 56.5 cm (50.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'Kouyunjik Chamber I, Nos. 9–10'*

PLATES 81–82

100b Alternative drawing of slab 9: Or.Dr. II, 64 upper; pencil drawing on brownish paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 25 × 35.2 cm (29.8 cm); measurements given: H. 3 ft., 6 in.; W. 5 ft. 7 in. (106.6 × 170.1 cm). Annotation in pencil: *'No 1'*.

101b Alternative drawing of slab 10: Or.Dr. II, 64 lower; pencil drawing on brownish paper, signed *Henry A. Churchill*; 25.4 × 35.2 cm (21.3 cm); measurements given: H. 4 ft., W. 4 ft. 7 in. (121.9 × 139.7 cm).

Annotations in pencil: *'No 2'*; *'N.B. No 2. The only slab which would bear removal T. S. B[ell]'*; *'The indistinctness of the lower figures of this plate and of those of almost all the others will show the extent of the injury done by time to this series of diminutive sculptures'*.

102–104 Slabs 11 + 12 + 13: Two rows of deportees (men in long garments, veiled women) and spoil advancing towards the left. On slab 11 soldiers piling up heads of slain, before two scribes; below, wooded hills with the Assyrian cavalry advancing towards the right; on slab 12 and 13 the battle is shown as still going on; on slabs 12 + 13 almost half of the upper part remained, but the surface has suffered from calcination; grape-vines, fig-trees and pomegranate-trees can be distinguished, a battle scene above, and part of the walls of an Assyrian camp at the right edge of slab 13.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 37; Paterson, 1915, pls 17–18; Smith, 1960, p. 55, fig. 7 (detail); Yadin, 1963, p. 302, (detail); Nagel, 1967, p. 21, pl. 16:1.

102a–104a Or.Dr. I, 70; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, on greyish paper, enhanced with white; 42.5 × 68.5 cm (66.3 cm).

Annotations in pencil: *'Kouyunjik Chamber I, Nos. 11. 12. 13.'*

Russell, 1991, pp. 132–3, fig. 69; *SAA V*, figs 5 and 36.

PLATES 83–85

102b Alternative drawing of slab 11: Or.Dr. II, 63; pencil drawing on white cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 32.8 × 36.8 cm (30.5 cm); measurements given: H. 4 ft. 7 in.; W. 4 ft. 11 in. (139.7 × 149.8 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'No 3'*. The number of trees differs from that depicted in **102a**.

103b Alternative drawing of slab 12: Or.Dr. II, 62; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *Henry A. Churchill*; 49.4 × 31.8 cm; measurements given: H. 7 ft.; W. 4 ft. 3 in. (213.5 × 129.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'No 4'*.

SAA V, fig. 13.

104b Alternative drawing of slab 13: Or.Dr. II, 61; pencil drawing on white cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 49.3 × 31.4 cm (24.6 cm); measurements given: H. 7 ft.; W. 4 ft. (208.2 × 121.9 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'No 5'*.

104c Fragment of slab 13 in London, BM WA 124952 (56-9-9, 10); 121.9 × 106.6 cm; gypsum; joins **104d**.

In the upper register deportees are advancing towards the left; below, the struggle is shown on wooded hills.

Gadd, 1936, p. 177.

PLATE 86

104d London, BM WA 130724 (1948-7-14, 1); 26.7 × 43.2 × 1.9 cm; joins **104c**.

A deported woman and a child riding an onager; behind them two deportees advancing towards the left.

PLATE 86

105 Probably from one of these slabs; London, BM WA 102078 (97-10-8, 7); presented by Miss H. G. Wainwright in 1897; reported missing in 1961; 16.5 × 10.1 cm.

Fragment showing a narrow river with fish, and a branch of a grape-vine. Weidner, 1963, p. 198, fig. 9.

PLATE 86

106 Slabs 14–15: Not drawn; an Assyrian camp (partly visible) was represented, and probably wooded hills with battle scenes similar to those on the previous slabs.

107 Entrance *l* leading to Room XIII (J) (N.B. misprinted as *e* on the plan in Paterson, 1915 – see PLATE 15); destroyed.

108 Slab 16: Forming the angle of the buttress to the right of Entrance *l*. Various battle scenes against enemy archers, some wearing long garments, in a valley on the banks of a river, among fruit-trees; below, wooded hills with battle scenes on their summits.

108a Or.Dr. I, 71 (part; on same sheet of paper as **110a–111a**); unsigned pencil drawing on greyish paper, probably by A. H. Layard, enhanced with white; 41.9 × 69.5 cm (13.9 cm., 52.7 cm).

Annotations in ink: *'Kouyunjik Chamber I Nos. 16. 19. 20.'*

PLATE 87

108b Alternative drawing of slab 16: Or.Dr. II, 59 lower; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 36.2 ×

25.7 cm (21.3 cm); measurements given: H. 5ft.; W. 3ft. 9 in. (152.4 × 114.3 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'No 9'; 'N.B. One missing T. S. B[ell]'

PLATE 87

109 Slabs 17 (at right-angles to slab 16) and 18 (at right-angles to slab 17): Not drawn; presumably similar to slabs 16 and 19–20.

110–111 Slabs 19 + 20: Continuation of the scene on **108**.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 38; Paterson, 1901–11, pls CVIII–CIX; Paterson, 1915, pls 19–20, 22 upper.

110a–111a Or.Dr. I, 71 (part); for annotations and description see **108a**, on the same sheet of paper. For a confusion in the numbering, see **114**.

PLATES 88–89

112 Fragment probably belonging to slabs 16–20 (**108–111**): London, BM WA 135302 (81-2-4, 10); 27.9 × 15.2 cm.

Part of a mounted archer below the branch of a grape-vine.

PLATE 89

113 Slab 21: In the recess immediately to the left of Entrance *k* (**114**); no drawing (cf. 4).

113a London, BM WA 124792 (51-9-2, 15); 137.1 × 68.6 cm.

Prophylactic guardian figure of the gate (*lahmu*): a bearded hero, hair in large curls, wearing a short kilt with tassels, bare-footed, holding upright a standard terminating in a spade, facing right.

Layard, 1853a, p. 71; Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 71–2, no. 33; Paterson, 1915, pls 21, 22 upper (restoration showing two of these figures, one above the other), 98, no. 33; Gadd, 1936, pp. 167–8; Smith, 1938, pp. 15–16, pl. XXXV; Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, pl. 72.

PLATE 90

114 Entrance *k* leading to Room XIII (J); formed by colossal bulls, with figures holding buckets and cones alongside.

In the side of the hall sculptured with these bas-reliefs was a wide portal, formed by a pair of gigantic human-headed bulls. They had suffered, like all those previously discovered, from the fire, and the upper part, the wings and human head, had been completely destroyed. The lower half had, however, escaped, and the inscriptions were consequently nearly entire. Joined to the forepart of the bulls were four small figures, two on each side, and one above the other. They had long hair, falling in large and massive curls on their shoulders, wore short tunics descending to the knee, and held a pole topped by a kind of cone in one hand, raising the other as in act of adoration. [A footnote records that one of these was sent to the British Museum (**113a**).] At right angles with the slabs bearing these sculptures were colossal figures carrying the oft-repeated cone and basket.

In this entrance a well, cut through the large pavement slab between the bulls, was afterwards discovered. It contained broken pottery, not one vase having been taken out whole, apparently human remains, and some fragments of calcined sculptured alabaster, evidently detached from the bas-reliefs on the walls. It is doubtful whether this well was sunk after the Assyrian ruins had been buried, or whether it had been from the earliest times a place of deposit for the dead. The remains of bas-reliefs

found in it, at a considerable depth, show that it must have been filled up after the destruction of the Assyrian palace; and, as no such wells exist in similar entrances, I am inclined to believe that, like many others discovered during the excavations, it had been made by those who built on the mound above the ancient ruins. When sinking the shaft they probably met with the pavement slab, and cut through it. It appears to have been afterwards choked by the falling in of the rubbish through which it had been carried, and hence the fragments of sculptured alabaster mixed with the broken pottery. Being unable to support its crumbling sides, I was obliged to abandon the attempt after digging to the depth of about fifteen feet.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 71–2)

Paterson, 1915, pl. 22 upper (note that Paterson's reconstruction is misleading because the slabs he numbers 20 and 23 are, in fact, 19 and 20 [**110** and **111**]); Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 31, no. 11.

115 Slab 22: In the recess to the right of Entrance *k*; not drawn; probably similar to the figure in slab 21 (**113**), but facing left.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 22 upper (restoration); Müller, 1928–9, pl. XVIII, 2.

116 Slabs 23 + 24 + 25: Not drawn; scenes similar to those on slabs 19 + 20 were represented. N.B. The slabs numbered 20 and 23 in Paterson's reconstruction (1915, pl. 22 upper) are, in fact, slabs 19 and 20 (**110** and **111**) repeated (*LN* 2C, f. 7v).

117 Slabs 26 + 27 + 28: In the recess to the left of Entrance *j* (**118**); not drawn; scenes similar to those on slabs 30 + 31 were represented but only the bottom remained.

118 Entrance *j* leading into Room XIII (J); lined with slabs representing colossal prophylactic figures of which one was missing while only the feet of the others remained.

119 Slab 29: Not drawn; in the corner between Entrances *j* and *i* (**118** and **120**) probably representing battle scenes similar to those on the previous and following slabs.

120 Entrance *i* leading into Room XII (L).

This entrance had been guarded by six colossal figures, three on each side.

The upper part of all of them had been destroyed. They appear to have been eagle-headed and lion-headed monsters.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 73)

See *LN* 2C, f. 7r for further details.

121–122 Slabs 30 + 31: Between Entrances *i* and *h*.

Battle scenes in a valley with grape-vines; upper part of slabs entirely destroyed. Above, beside a hill, mounted archers; below, Assyrian spearmen on horseback fighting against soldiers on foot on top of wooded hills.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 103)

121a–122a Or.Dr. IV, 45; unsigned pencil drawing on greyish paper, enhanced with white, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper; 30.4 × 57.7 cm (50.6 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Kouyunjik Chamber I Nos. 30. 31.'

PLATES 92–93

121b Alternative drawing of slab 30: Or.Dr. II, 60 lower; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 26.9 × 36.8 cm (30.8 cm); measurements given: H. 3 ft. 2 in.; W. 5 ft. (96.5 × 152.4 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 6'.

122b Alternative drawing of slab 31: Or.Dr. II, 60 upper; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 27.9 × 36.8 cm. (31.7 cm); measurements given: H. 3 ft. 10 in.; W. 6 ft. 3 in. (116.8 × 190.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 7'.

123 Entrance *b* leading to Room IX (P); lined with colossal prophylactic figures of which the feet of a fish-cloaked figure remained.

124 Slabs 32 + 33: Forming a corner after Entrance *b*; not drawn; probably representing the same conquest of mountainous country as on the previous slabs.

125 Slabs 34 + 35: Not drawn; representing battle scenes in mountainous country similar to those shown on the previous slabs.

126 Slab 36: In the recess to the left of Entrance *g* (127); not drawn; only the feet remained of a colossal prophylactic guardian figure.

127 Entrance *g* leading into Room IX (P); lined with bull colossi which were almost totally destroyed.

Layard, *LV 2C*, f. 7r; Layard, 1853a, p. 229; Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 31, no. 10.

128 Slab 37: In the recess to the right of Entrance *g* (127); not drawn; as 126 but reversed.

129 Slabs 38 + 39: Battle scenes in a valley with a vineyard; on the top of wooded hills Assyrian cavalymen are fighting; deportation of people and spoil from a besieged city; horses and grooms on the right side, facing left; the upper parts of the slabs are entirely destroyed.

129a Or.Dr. IV, 46; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, probably by F. C. Cooper; 30.8 × 55.5 cm (45.4 cm); scale given: 1 in 1/2 to a foot (1:8).

Annotation in pencil: 'Kouyunjik Chamber I Nos. 38. 39.'

PLATES 94–95

130 Slabs 40–41: Not drawn; probably a continuation of the battle scene.

131 Entrance *f* leading into Room IX (P); only parts of two figures remained, one of them a fish-cloaked figure.

132 Or.Dr. II, 57 lower, represents a small fragment of the middle or upper part of one of the slabs from the south or west of the Court; pencil drawing on white paper, signed *Henry A. Churchill*; 32 × 26.7 cm (19 cm).

Below the curve of the river a vine with bunches of grapes is depicted; two spearmen are fighting towards the left, and an archer on horseback is discharging an arrow towards the right; on the lower edge there is the corpse of an enemy.

PLATE 95

The north and north-eastern sides of Court VI (I) are dedicated to an entirely different activity: the work of prisoners and slaves building the palace of Sennacherib, preparing the mound, and hauling large stone sculptures forming the winged human-headed entrance-bulls of the palace. If, as seems likely, both sequences of slabs started at Entrance *a* (61), then Layard's numbering of the present sequence (which is followed here) is in reverse order.

But on the northern [side], the sculptures differed from any others yet discovered, and from their interest and novelty merit a particular notice. They were in some cases nearly entire, though much cracked and calcined by fire, and represented the process of transporting the great human-headed bulls to the palaces of which they formed so remarkable a feature.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 103)

Different phases in the production and transportation of bull colossi are shown on these reliefs. Quarrying activities are depicted on slabs 66–68 (156–158) and the block from which the bull colossus is to be carved is shown at the bottom of the quarry. On slabs 63–64 (152–153) the block has been roughed out and laid on its side on a sledge which is being transferred from a raft onto the bank of a river. Slab 62 (150) may not belong to this sequence as the activities depicted take place from left to right instead of from right to left, but it may depict the equipment needed for moving the bulls being brought to the site. Note that in Gallery XLIX (O), the equivalent slab (533) is also in reverse direction to the rest of the sequence. Slabs 61–53 (148, 147, 146, 144, 143) show at least three separate stages in the transport of bull colossi to Nineveh and slabs 47–43 (136–135) show the bull, now upright, being dragged into position.

133 Slab 42: Destroyed.

134 Entrance *e* leading to Room VII (R); decorated with single colossal figures (not winged), holding a pole (cf. 113).

135 Slabs 43 + 44: Forming the corner in the recess to the right of Entrance *e*. Four lines of men, each row pulling a rope; at the bottom a row of men carrying logs, and a taskmaster striking a man with a stick.

135a Or.Dr. IV, 47; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, probably by F. C. Cooper or A. H. Layard; 29.5 × 51.4 cm (25.7 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'Kouyunjik Chamber I, Nos. 43. 44.'; '17. 2 plates'.

Gadd, 1936, p. 226.

PLATE 96

136 The edge of slab 44 forming one corner of the buttress + slabs 45 + 46 + 47, + the edge of slab 47 forming the other corner of the buttress.

This interesting series is completed by a bas-relief, showing, it would seem, the final placing of the colossal bull. The figure no longer lies horizontally on the sledge, but is raised by men with ropes and forked wooden props. It is kept in its erect position by beams, held together by cross bars and wedges and is further supported by blocks of stone, or wood, piled up under the body. On the sledge, in front of the bull, stands an officer giving directions with outstretched hands to the workmen. Cable, ropes, rollers and levers are also employed on this occasion to move the gigantic sculpture. The captives are distinguished by the peculiar turbans before described. Unfortunately the upper part of all the slabs has been destroyed, and much of the subject is consequently wanting.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 112, 114)

Layard, 1853b, pl. 16 (slab 47); Paterson, 1901–11, pl. CX (slab 47); Paterson, 1915, pl. 23 (slab 47); Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, p. 338, fig. 152; Hrouda, 1964, p. 24, fig. 12.

136a Or.Dr. IV, 48; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, probably by F. C. Cooper; 30.4 × 61.3 cm (58.1 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *Kouyunjik Chamber I Nos. 45. 46 and part of Nos. 44 & 47*. Two heads of deportees, perhaps Judaeans, are shown on a rectangular cut fragment, enlarged as a detail, above slab 46.

Russell, 1991, pp. 112–3, fig. 61.

PLATES 97, 100

136b Or.Dr. II, 65; pencil drawing on greenish grey paper, enhanced with white, brown and grey wash, signed *F. C. Cooper del.*; 21.9 × 42.2 cm; mounted on whitish cartridge paper and framed.

Restored drawing of entire scene.

Layard, 1853a, p. 113 (engraving by G[eorge] S[charf]); *SAI* V, fig. 13.

PLATE 101

136c Two joining fragments belonging to slab 47 in Istanbul, AM 25 + AM 416; 50.8 × 63.5 cm.

Front of a sledge with an overseer standing on it, giving orders; three double ropes lead to the left, among which two men with logs are at work.

Gadd, 1936, p. 225.

PLATE 98

136d Fragment belonging to slab 47 in the Vatican, 14992 (ex 2); 39.3 × 36.5 cm.

Two workmen carrying a lever and ropes towards the left, behind the bull.

Weidner, 1939, p. 21, fig. 19.

PLATE 98

136e A fragment from Istanbul, AM 7387, may belong here but no photograph or details are available.

137–138 Not used.

139 Slab 48: Not drawn; two small figures one above the other, holding a pole (see **113**).

140 Entrance *d* leading into Room VII (R); lined with bull colossi and large figures with bucket and cone (heads destroyed).

Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 31, no. 9.

141 Slab 49: Not drawn; as **139** but facing the other way.

142 Slabs 50 + 51 + 52: Not drawn; the slabs were probably divided into three registers showing, respectively, a broad river, a row of pine trees, and workmen carrying implements; the king was perhaps represented in his chariot, supervising the work (see **532**).²

143 Slab 53 + edge of slab 54:

The bull is placed in the same manner on the sledge, which is also moved by cables and levers. It is accompanied by workmen with saws, hatchets, pick-axes, shovels, ropes, and props, and by carts carrying cables and beams. Upon it are three officers directing the operations, one holding the trumpet in his hands, and in front walk four other overseers. Above the sledge and the workmen are rows of trees, and a river on which are circular boats resembling in shape the 'kufas', now used on the lower part of the Tigris, and probably, like them, built of reeds and ozier twigs, covered with square pieces of hide. They are heavily laden with beams and implements required for moving the bulls. They appear to have been near the sledge when dragged along the bank of the river, and were impelled by four oars similar to those above described. Near the boats, astride on inflated skins in the water, are fishermen angling with hook and line.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 107)

Layard, 1853b, pl. 12 lower.

143a Or.Dr. IV, 49; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white and black, signed *A. H. Layard*; 28.5 × 42.8 cm (29.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *No 53. Hall I Kouyunjik*.

Russell, 1991, p. 111, fig. 60; *SAI* I, fig. 19 c.

PLATE 102

143b London, BM WA 124823 (51-9-2, 3); 210.8 × 281.9 cm; width of slab 54, 21.5–23 cm.

The edge of slab 54, which continues the scene on slab 53, was sawn off and added to slab 53 to match the drawing. In fact this edge extends below the surviving part of slab 53 to include parts of two trees similar to those at the bottom of slabs 54–56 (see **144a**). One of the small figures hauling on a rope on the register above the trees on the face of slab 54 still survives (see PLATE 105).

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 104–5, no. 55; Paterson, 1901–11, pls IC–C (details), CXIII–CXIV; Paterson, 1915, pls 25–6; Meissner, 1920a, Abb. 119 (detail); Hall, 1928, pl. XXXI (cut at right side); Gadd, 1936, p. 172; Pritchard, 1969a, p. 108; Barnett, 1970, pl. VIII; Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980, p. 84, no. 32 (detail); De Graeve, 1981, p. 50, pl. XXIII, no. 55; Reade, 1983, p. 18, fig. 15, p. 39, fig. 51 (details); Rashid, 1984, p. 124 and fig. 144.

PLATES 103, (details) 99, 104

144 Slabs 54 + 55 at right angles to each other, and 56:

In the first bas-relief I shall describe [56], the colossal bull rests horizontally on a sledge similar in form to the boat containing the rough block from the quarry, but either in the carving the stone has been greatly reduced in size, or the sledge is much larger than the boat, as it considerably exceeds

the sculpture in length. The bull faces the spectator, and the human head rests on the fore part of the sledge, which is curved upwards and strengthened by a thick beam, apparently running completely through from side to side. The upper part, or deck, is otherwise nearly horizontal; the under, or keel, being slightly curved throughout. Props, probably of wood, are placed under different parts of the sculpture to secure an equal pressure. The sledge was dragged by cables, and impelled by levers. The cables are four in number; two fastened to strong projecting pins in front, and two to similar pins behind. They are pulled by small ropes passing over the shoulders of the men, as in the bas-reliefs already described. The numbers of the workmen may of course be only conventional, the sculptor introducing as many as he found room for on the slab. They are again distinguished by various costumes, being probably captives from different conquered nations, and are urged on by task-masters. The sculpture moves over rollers, which, as soon as left behind by the advancing sledge, are brought again to the front by parties of men, who are also under the control of overseers armed with staves. Although these rollers materially facilitated the motion, it would be almost impossible, when passing over rough ground, or if the rollers were jammed, to give the first impetus to so heavy a body by mere force applied to the cables. The Assyrians, therefore, lifted, and consequently eased, the hinder part of the sledge with huge levers of wood, and in order to obtain the necessary fulcrum they carried with them during the operations wedges of different sizes. Kneeling workmen are represented in the bas-reliefs inserting an additional wedge to raise the fulcrum. The lever itself was worked by ropes, and on a detached fragment, discovered in the long gallery [Gallery XLIX (O)], men were seen seated astride upon it to add by their weight to the force applied.

On the bull itself are four persons, probably the superintending officers. The first is kneeling, and appears to be clapping his hands, probably beating time, to regulate the motions of the workmen, who unless they applied their strength at one and the same moment would be unable to move so large a weight. Behind him stands a second officer with outstretched arm, evidently giving the word of command. The next holds to his mouth, either a speaking-trumpet, or an instrument of music. The fourth officer, also standing, carries a mace, and is probably stationed behind to give directions to those who work the levers. The sledge bearing the sculpture is followed by men with coils of ropes and various implements, and drawing carts laden with cables and beams. Even the landscape is not neglected; and the country in which these operations took place is indicated by trees, and by a river. In this stream are seen men swimming on skins; and boats and rafts, resembling those still in use in Assyria, are impelled by oars with wedge-shaped blades.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 106–7)

Layard, 1853a, p. 111 (woodcut by G[eorge] S[charfe]; Layard, 1853b, pl. 13; Ball, 1899, pp. 116–17; Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, p. 336, fig. 151; Paterson, 1901–11, pls CXV–CXVI; Paterson, 1915, pls 27–8; Waterfield, 1963, opp. p. 167.

144a Or.Dr. I, 55; unsigned pencil drawing on greenish brown paper, enhanced with white, probably by A. H. Layard; 42.2 × 66.6 cm (19.3 cm, 29.5 cm).

Annotations in pencil: *'Kouyunjik Chamber I, Nos. 54. 56'*; in ink: *'54–56'*.

On the left is slab 54 (probably drawn after its end had been sawn off – see **143b**) with slab 55 at right angles to it, and on the right is slab 56.

Russell, 1991, p. 111, fig. 59; *SAA I*, fig. 19d.

PLATES 104–105

144b See **143b**. The extreme left hand figure hauling on a rope on the face of slab 54 (**144a**) survives on the sawn-off end of that slab which was added to slab 53 (**143b**).

PLATE 105 (showing the lower part of the edge of s54 and the join with s54)

145 Entrance *c* leading into Room VII (R); the sculptures lining it were destroyed but were described by Layard (1853a, p. 229) as being 'colossal winged figures'.

146 Slabs 57–59: Not drawn; destroyed.

147 Probably slab 59 or 60: The continuation of the scene shown on slab 61 (**148**) but perhaps with an intervening slab.

147a A large part of this slab is preserved in London, BM WA 124822 (51.9–2, 4); 205.7 × 218.4 cm.

The top register shows a river on which *quffas* and a *kelek*³ are used to transport lighter materials; the second register consists of a row of large and small pine trees (conifers), a reed thicket is shown to the right in both registers. Only the left half of the main scene is preserved: four rows of men are pulling ropes to move a colossal figure⁴ towards the left. Note the horizontal striations made by a toothed tool above the arm of the central official in the group of three; there are also a series of lines above and below his extended arm, indicating that it was originally conceived at an angle.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 102–3, no. 54; Paterson, 1901–11, pls XCVII–XCVIII (partial view), CXI–CXII; Paterson, 1915, pl. 24; Barnett, 1970, pl. VII (partial view); Hall, 1928, pl. XXX; Hrouda, 1964, p. 23, fig. 10; Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, pl. 74 (detail); Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980, p. 83, no. 31 (detail); De Graeve, 1981, p. 48, pl. XIX, no. 50; Russell, 1991, p. 110, fig. 58 (slab numbered 58).

PLATES 106, (details) 106, 107

148 Slab 61: Continued on **147**, perhaps with an intervening slab.

On a fallen slab, forming part of the same general series, is the king standing in a richly decorated chariot, the pole of which, curved upwards at the end, and ornamented with the head of a horse, is raised by eunuchs. From the peculiar form of this chariot and the absence of a yoke, it would seem to have been intended purposely for such occasions as that represented in the bas-relief, and to have been a kind of moveable throne drawn by men and not by horses. Behind the monarch, who holds a kind of flower, or ornament in the shape of the fruit of the pine, in one hand, stand two eunuchs, one raising a parasol to shade him from the sun, the other cooling him with a fan. He appears to have been superintending the transport of one of the colossal sculptures, and his chariot is preceded and followed by his bodyguard armed with maces. In the upper part of the slab is a jungle of high reeds, or canes, in which are seen a wild sow with its young, and a stag and two hinds. These animals are designed with great spirit and truth.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 107–9)

Inscription in front of the king:

- 1 Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, huge protecting bull colossi
- 2 which were made in the district of Balaṭai

3 for his royal palace

4 which is in Nineveh, he had joyfully transported.

Layard, 1853a, woodcuts on pp. 108–9, inscription on p. 117; Layard, 1853b, pl. 12 upper; Gadd, 1936, pp. 171–2. For Balatai see 156–158.

148a Or.Dr. IV, 50; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, signed *A. H. Layard*; 3.6 × 46.3 cm (21.1 cm); scale given: *1-1/4 in. = 1 ft.* (1:9.6).

Annotation in pencil: *'Kouyunjik No 61 – Hall I'*.

Russell, 1991, p. 110, fig. 57 (slab numbered 60).

PLATE 108

148b Original in London, BM WA 124824 (51-9-2, 2); 203.2 × 199.3 cm.

Birch and Pinches, 1883, pp. 105–7, no. 56; Paterson, 1901–11, pls CI–CII, CXVII–CXVIII; Paterson, 1915, pls 29, 30 (detail); Müller, 1928–9, pl. XVIII (detail); Gadd, 1936, p. 172; Hrouda, 1964, p. 22, fig. 9; Reade, 1983, p. 37, fig. 54 (detail); Reade, 1978, pp. 55, 58 f., fig. 6b; Magen, 1986, p. 159, pl. 5, 3 (detail).

PLATES 109, (details) 91, 107

149 Fragment possibly belonging to Slabs 59(?)–61 (147–148) in London, BM WA 124272 (1932-12-12, 2); 19 × 7.9 × 6.4 cm.

Small fragment showing parts of reeds; surface blackened by fire (attribution uncertain).

PLATE 109

150 Slab 62(?):

Behind the monarch, on an adjoining slab, are carts bearing the cables, wedges, and implements required in moving the sculpture. A long beam or lever is slung by ropes from the shoulders of three men, and one of the great wedges is carried in the same way. In the upper compartment of this slab is a stream issuing from the foot of hills wooded with vines, fig-trees, and pomegranates. Beneath stands a town or village, the houses of which have domes and high conical roofs,⁵¹ probably built of mud, as in parts of northern Syria. The domes have the appearance of dish-covers with a handle, the upper part being topped by a small circular projection, perhaps intended as an aperture to admit light and air.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 112)

Two four-line inscriptions, probably indicating the name of the city, were unfortunately illegible (Russell, 1991, p. 274). Reade proposes the identification with Balatai (see 148). Note that the direction of this slab is different from the others. However, Malan's sketch of Gallery XLIX (531b), where similar scenes were depicted, shows an equivalent scene (533), also in reverse to the order of scenes in that gallery. Both may therefore show equipment being brought to the scene of operations.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 17; Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, p. 146, fig. 43 (detail); Paterson, 1901–11, pl. CXIX; Paterson, 1915, pl. 31; Unger, 1926b, pp. 321–2, pl. 128a; Hrouda, 1964, p. 21, fig. 8.

150a Or.Dr. IV, 51; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, signed *A. H. Layard*; 46.9 × 34.3 cm (22.5 cm); scale given: *1-1/2 in. = 1 ft.* (1:8).

Annotations in pencil: *'No 62 Hall I Kouyunjik'*; *'Kouyunjik No 62(?) Ch. I'*.

Reade, 1978, pp. 58 f., fig. 6b; Russell, 1991, p. 109, fig. 56; SAA VI, fig. 22.

PLATE 110

151 Fragment perhaps belonging to a slab adjacent to 148 in London, BM WA 131123 (95-10-22, 4); previously numbered 11502; 44.4 × 19 cm; gypsum.

A man facing right, carrying ropes; on the left, the hand of another man carrying a log; traces of water at the upper edge. Note that the direction of the figure is reversed to those on the other slabs with the exception of slab 62 (150). The presence of the stream above him would indicate a position to the left of slab 62 and would suggest an intervening slab between slabs 61 and 62. However, no allowance was made for such a slab in the numbering of the drawings or in Layard's description.

PLATE 110

152–153 Slabs 63 + 64: Part of Sennacherib's building activities; a large block of stone, showing the outlines of a bull-colossus, is lying on its side on a sledge and is being transferred from a raft onto the river bank. Four rows of prisoners, probably from Judah and Phoenicia, are represented pulling the ropes, guarded by soldiers and urged on by their overseers. Four overseers, two with trumpets (see Rimmer, 1969, pl. XVI), direct the operation from the top of the colossus. On top of a hill on the left, Sennacherib on his hand-drawn throne is superintending the work. At the right side, men are carrying and dumping rubble from the quarry whence the colossal monolith is being extracted. This scene is continued onto the right-hand edge of slab 64, forming the left jamb of Entrance *b* (154). At the bottom, at a smaller scale, two men are operating a *shaduf*⁶ to raise water from the river, probably to wet the ropes.

Layard, 1853a, pp. 109, 112; Layard, 1853b, pl. 15; Paterson, 1901–11, pls CXX–CXXIII; Paterson, 1915, pls 32–3; Meissner, 1920a, fig. 94; Meissner, 1924, p. 15, pl. IVa (detail); Unger, 1927, p. 121, fig. 65; Hrouda, 1964, p. 19, fig. 5; Littauer & Crowell, 1979, p. 134; Magen, 1986, p. 159, pl. 5:5.

152a–153a Or.Dr. I, 57; unsigned pencil drawing on greyish paper, enhanced with white, probably by F. C. Cooper; 42.8 × 66.9 cm; (62.5 cm); scale given: *1 in 3/4 to a foot* (1:6.8).

Annotation in pencil: *'Kouyunjik – Chamber I, Nos. 63. 64'*.

Reade, 1978, pp. 55 ff., fig. 5a; Reade, 1983, p. 38, fig. 50; Russell, 1991, pp. 106–7, fig. 54; SAA I, fig. 19b; SAA VI, fig. 26.

PLATES 112–113

152b–153b Original in London, BM WA 124820a+b (51-9-2, 6); a: 255 × 202 cm; b: 255 × 260 cm.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 97–100, nos 51–2; Gadd, 1936, p. 170; Pritchard, 1969a, no. 94 (detail); Rimmer, 1969, p. 37, fig. 10, pl. XVI; Reade, 1978, pp. 56–8, fig. 6a (detail); Rashid, 1984, p. 124 and fig. 143; Reade, 1983, pp. 38–9, figs 51–3 (details); Russell, 1991, p. 259, fig. 131.

PLATES 114–115, (details) 111

154 Entrance *b* leading into an unexcavated area (see the ambiguous description in LN 2C, f. 6r); 184 was found here.

155 Slab 65: Not drawn; possibly representing the king in his chariot superintending the work.

156–158 Slabs 66 + 67 + 68: Men working in the quarry of Balatai, as described in the inscription quoted below, are shaping a large stone for a colossal entrance-figure to be moved to Sennacherib's palace. Most of the labourers wear a cap with a pointed top lying backwards, and earflaps which are sometimes shown down, and sometimes tied up. This same cap, always with the earflaps up, and a visible bow behind the pointed top, is shown in several reliefs, including those showing Barakib, from Zincirli,⁷ so it is reasonable to identify these men as captives from Sam'al, probably taken by Sargon in 720 BC. Other examples of men with this head-dress are found in Room XLIII (KK), where they are tending camels (473, 475). Slab 68 is drawn separately and may not have joined slab 67.

Inscription on slab 66, duplicated with minor variations on slab 68 (see **158b**):

- 1 Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria: white limestone
- 2 which, at the command of the god, for the construction of my palace had been discovered
- 3 in the district of Balatai; I had men from enemy towns
- 4 and the inhabitants of hidden mountain regions, conquest of my hands,
- 5 with iron picks and pickaxes (to work in the quarry),
- 6 and I had great bull colossi made for the gates of my palace

On Balatai see Forrer, 1919, p. 106; Luckenbill, 1927, p. 147, no. 422. Layard, 1853a, pp. 110, 117; Layard 1853b, pl. 14; Paterson, 1901–11, pls CXXIV–CXXVII; Paterson, 1915, pls 34–5; Hrouda, 1964, pp. 15–26.

156a–158a Or.Dr. I, 56; unsigned pencil drawing on greyish paper, enhanced with white, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper; 43.5 × 66.3 cm (slabs 66 + 67: 13.4; slab 58: 13.5 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'Nos. 66. 67. 68 Ch: I Kouyunjik'.

Reade, 1983, p. 18, fig. 14 (slabs 66–67); Russell, 1991, p. 101, fig. 50; SAA I, fig. 19a.

PLATES 116–117

156b Detail from slab 66, the fourth figure from the top on the left: Or.Dr. IV, XX Miscellaneous; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard or by F. C. Cooper; 33.5 × 24.8 cm. Annotation in pencil: 'Prisoner carrying burden' and at left (at right angles): 'Manacles for the feet (Khorsabad & Kouyunjik)'; 'ADM' or 'AOM'.
PLATE 118

156c Original of slab 66 in London, BM WA 124821a + b (51-9-2, 5); 254 × 195.5 cm.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 100–2, no. 53; Gadd, 1936, p. 171; Wäfler, 1975, pl. 14:2 (detail).

PLATES 119, (detail) 118

157b Original of upper part of slab 67 in Istanbul, AM 20; 40 × 107.9 cm.

Hills with conifers and deciduous trees.

Gadd, 1936, pp. 225.

PLATE 118

157c Original of part of the bottom register of slab 67 in Baghdad, IM 60657; 57.1 × 45 cm.

A row of three soldiers, facing right, two of them with their round shields resting on the ground; above, feet of climbing figures.

PLATE 118

158b Original of part of slab 68 in Istanbul, AM 2; 132 × 93.9 cm. At the top and the bottom, a row of Assyrian soldiers on guard, facing right, consisting of spearmen with round wickerwork shields, alternating with archers; inscription (see above); below, two rows of workmen collecting stones in baskets, and carrying them towards the left.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 36; Gadd, 1936, pp. 224–5.

PLATE 120

[61] Entrance *a* leading into Room V (C, later G).

The following miscellaneous fragments may have come from slabs 43–68 (**135–158**):

159 Istanbul, AM 3; 77.9 × 19 cm.

Small strip of the upper part of a slab showing part of a hill with a conifer on top and deciduous trees below; see slabs 62–68 (**150–158**) for similar trees.

Gadd, 1936, p. 225.

PLATE 121

160 Istanbul, AM 28; 62.8 × 72 cm.

Fragments from the top of a slab, various trees growing upon hills. See slabs 62–68 (**150–158**) for similar trees.

Gadd, 1936, pp. 225–6.

PLATE 121

161 London, BM WA 135303 (51-9-2, ?); 43.1 × 80 cm.

A row of conifers; surface calcined. Perhaps belonging to slabs 54–56 (**144**) where similar trees are depicted.

PLATE 121

162 Istanbul, AM 32 + AM 6340: 31.7 × 29.8 cm.

Two adjacent fragments depicting the lower parts of five Assyrian officers holding maces, advancing towards the right, perhaps escorting the king (cf. slab 61, **148**). These fragments could also have come from elsewhere in Court VI (I).

Gadd, 1936, p. 226.

PLATE 121

The following fragments probably belong to the upper registers of slabs 43–46 (**135–136**):

163 Brussels, MRAH O.3847; 10.1 × 8.9 cm.

Head of a prisoner, probably a Judaeen, as suggested by his characteristic head-dress (see **430 ff.**), pulling a rope towards the left.

Goossens, 1949, pp. 60–4, fig. 60 (slab 542, **144**); Wäfler, 1975, pl. 2:3.

PLATE 122

163 bis A similar head was sold at Bonhams, London, 4 July 1995, lot 143 (with photograph); 9.5 × 7.4 × 1.1.

164 St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, HM 7387 (ex 4); 22.8 × 8.8 cm.

Two joining fragments showing a Judaeen prisoner pulling a double rope towards the left.

PLATE 122

165 Beirut, American University, AU 2677; 26 × 35.5 cm.

Two joining fragments showing three Judaeans pulling a double rope towards the left.

Mackay, 1951, p. 51, pl. VII:8; Baramki, 1967, pp. 47–8, no. 49, pl. XVII; Wäfler, 1975, pl. 3:1.

PLATE 122

166 Istanbul, AM 461; dimensions unknown.

Lower parts of two men pulling a double rope.

Gadd, 1936, p. 226 (wrongly referred to as 416).

PLATE 122

167 Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, RSM 1874.7.2; 26.9 × 36.8 cm.

Irregularly-shaped fragment showing parts of three Judaeans pulling a double rope towards the left.

PLATE 122

Fragments **168–172** probably belong to the middle registers of slabs 43–46 (**135–136**) or to slabs 54–60 (**144–147**) and fragments **173–174** may come from the upper part (missing) of slab 46 (**136**) because the figures are climbing a slope – cf. slab 63 (**152**):

168 Baghdad, IM 60656; 27.9 × 47.9 cm; surface heavily calcined and eroded.

Three men pulling a double rope towards the left.

PLATE 123 (photograph by P. G. Dorrell)

169 Munich, Ägyptologisches Institut, Ass. 7 (ex 3); 25 × 16.1 cm.

Head and upper part of a bearded man, facing left, pulling a double rope.

PLATE 123

170 New York, The Brooklyn Museum, L 81.63; from the Philip Carlson Collection; 12.7 × 13 cm.

Upper part of a man with a decorated skirt, pulling a rope towards the left.

PLATE 123

171 New York, The Brooklyn Museum, L 76.11.4; 19.6 × 15.5 cm.

Parts of two men pulling a double rope towards the left.

PLATE 123

172 Oxford, Magdalen College; 13.9 × 22.2 cm.

Heads and upper parts of two bearded men pulling a double rope towards the left.

Weidner, 1939, fig. 77, p. 94

PLATE 123

173 Brussels, MRAH O.1818; 26.3 × 26.6 cm.

Parts of three bearded men pulling a double rope towards the left.

Goossens, 1950, pp. 86–8, fig. 1.

PLATE 124

174 London, BM WA 139619 (1983-1-1, 91); ex Leeds City Museum; 22.5 × 20.9 cm.

Men pulling a double rope towards the left. See **173** above.

PLATE 124

The following fragments probably belong to the bottom register of slabs 43–47 (**135–136**):

175 London, BM WA 127407; 31.75 × 15.85 cm.

Man carrying two logs towards the left.

PLATE 124

176 London, BM WA 132024 (1955-7-11, 1); 31.7 × 16.5 cm.

Man carrying two logs towards the left. The ends of the two logs borne by a second man are visible at the right edge.

Barnett, 1962-3, p. 93.

PLATE 124

177 Present location unknown; ex Athens?; purchased from Spinks by Major S. Burney; 26.6 × 38.1 cm.

Three men, each carrying two logs.

PLATE 125

The exact location of the following fragments within this room is doubtful:

178 Vatican 15002 (ex 19); 30.4 × 64.4 cm.

Fragment showing a row of five men, three of them carrying logs; the second and the last are Assyrian overseers who raise their sticks to drive them on, but since they do not carry maces, this fragment cannot belong to slabs 43–47.

Weidner, 1939, p. 21, fig. 20.

PLATE 125

179 London, BM WA 134862; 17.7 × 22.2 cm.

Heads and upper parts of two men each carrying two logs towards the left; feet of upper register. The presence of feet so close to the heads of the log-carriers makes it likely that this fragment comes from slab 43 (**135**); however, if it joins **180**, as suggested by Mitchell, then its location remains uncertain.

Mitchell, 1971-2, p. 135.

PLATE 126

180 London, BM WA 93019 (1894-3-10, 1); ex Leeds City Museum; 38.1 × 26.6 cm.

Two men carrying logs towards the left, and a bearded overseer who is urging the first to greater speed with a stick; of a third labourer only the hands holding two logs have survived. However, all the overseers on slabs 43–47 (**135–136**) carry maces so this fragment's location is uncertain.

Mitchell, 1971–2, p. 135 (possibly joins 179 q.v.); Reade, 1979b, p. 339, fig. 18.

PLATE 126

181 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Newbury Loan 1; 32.8 × 14.4 cm. An Assyrian advancing towards the left, holding a mace. See also slab 61 (148).

Weidner, 1939, p. 140 f., fig. 102.

PLATE 126

182 London, BM WA 115028 (95-10-22, 5); 33.9 × 19.6 cm.

A workman holding the end of a log, probably from just in front of a sledge. Cf. slab 59/60 (147).

PLATE 126

183 London, BM WA 121382; 17.7 × 12.7 cm.

Legs of workmen laying logs, perhaps from slab 53 (143)? Cf. slab 47 (136).

PLATE 126

184 Slab (?) found in Court VI (I), in Entrance *b* (154), but probably belonging to Forecourt H, Court XIX (U) or Room XXVIII (FF).

Add.MS. 39077 f. 75r (Russell, 1995, p. 77) confirms the ambiguous statement in *LN* 2C, f. 6r that **184** was found near Entrance *b*.

184a Or.Dr. IV, 52; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper; 32.7 × 41.5 cm (21.9 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Detached Fragment found in Ch. I – Kouyunjik'.

PLATE 127

184b Original in London, BM WA 124773 (51-9-2, 29); 146 × 129.5 cm.

Six fragments joined.

A Sennacherib relief, depicting a broad river with fish and two rows of reeds, was partially erased, probably under Ashurbanipal, and recarved with a horseman fleeing towards the left, before an Assyrian soldier, with a palm-tree behind.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 49–50, no. 3; Paterson, 1915, pls 96–7, no. 3; Hall, 1928, pl. XXXIII:2; Gadd, 1936, pp. 163–4; Smith, 1938, p. 16, pl. XXXVII; Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, pl. 73 (detail); Nagel, 1967, pp. 16–17, pl. 10; Reade, 1967, pp. 42–5, pl. XII (suggested location in Room XVIII but see above); Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980, p. 82 (detail); Reade, 1983, p. 41, fig. 58; Porada, 1989, pl. 42.

PLATES 127, (detail) 126

Notes

1 This representation of mountains thickly wooded with fir trees is rare among the reliefs of the Southwest Palace but see Room XXXIX (Y) and 515–516 in Room XLVII (JJ). It has its close parallels in Sargon's hunting scenes from Room VII at Khorsabad. It also recalls Sennacherib's description of his fifth campaign against the hill tribes east of the Tigris: 'Gullies, mountain torrents and waterfalls, dangerous cliffs, I surmounted ...' (Luckenbill, 1927, p. 122, no. 244).

2 In Court VI (I) the workmen are shown moving the entrance bulls from right to left, i.e. towards Gallery XLIX, whereas in Gallery XLIX work is shown in the opposite direction, from left to right. This direction of movement can serve as a criterion for attribution of small fragments with workmen to Court VI or to Gallery XLIX. In Court VI the king himself is shown supervising the work from either side, so a fragment with Sennacherib as a supervisor or showing his body-guard can be attributed only by comparing the heights of the figures; see also 532.

3 On the *quffa* see Casson, 1971, pp. 5–7, fig. 4; Salonen, 1939, p. 71; a round coracle with sewn hides stretched over a light frame of branches and laced together, generally used for the transport on a river of up to four or five tons of cargo. On the *kelek* see Herodotus I, 194; Casson, 1971, p. 4, fig. 1; Hornell, 1946, pl. XVII A.

4 Cf. Albenda, 1986, p. 34.

5 Hrouda, 1965, p. 62; Mallowan & Cruikshank Rose, 1935, pp. 32–3, fig. 22.

6 On the *shaduf* see e.g. M. S. Drower in Singer *et al.*, 1954, pp. 522–5.

7 Wäfler, 1975, pp. 183–5, and figs 101–2; von Luschan & Jacoby, 1911, pls LIV (with fig. 236), LVIII, LIX, LX (= Meyer, 1965, pl. 80), LXIII, LXVII and fig. 254.

ROOM VII (R) (PLATES 128–132)

Only Entrance *d* (140) into Court VI (I) was flanked by bull colossi; Entrances *c* (145) and *e* (134), the two small doorways on either side of *d*, were guarded by colossal winged figures (cf. 3 from the 'Grand Entrance'). Layard's description in his notebook is difficult to equate with the slabs that have been drawn, and the numbering on his plan (PLATE 13) only goes up to 9 although there are also drawings of slabs 10 to 14. However, Layard may erroneously have ascribed the numbers or slabs of Room VII (R) to Room IX (P) or vice versa (see 193 and 204 below).

Only the lower parts of the sculptured slabs at the western end of the room seem to have survived and the numbering starts in the recess on the western side of Entrance *e*.

On the northern side of the great hall the portal formed by the winged bulls, and the two smaller doorways guarded by colossal winged figures, led into a chamber one hundred feet by twenty-four, which opened into a further room of somewhat smaller dimensions. In the first, a few slabs were still standing, to show that on the walls had been represented some warlike expedition of the Assyrian king, and, as usual, the triumphant issue of the campaign. The monarch, in his chariot, and surrounded by his bodyguards, was seen receiving the captives and the spoil in a hilly country, whilst his warriors were dragging their horses up a steep mountain near a fortified town, driving their chariots along the banks of a river, and slaying with the spear the flying enemy. (Layard, 1853a, p. 229)

Layard, *LN* 2C, f. 10r; Paterson, 1915, p. 7; Wäfler, 1975, p. 368; Reade, 1979a, p. 88; Russell, 1991, pp. 53, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 79.

185 Slab 1: Not drawn; probably a colossal figure.

186 Slabs 2 (corner) + 3 + 4: Not drawn; fragments showed wooded mountainous country with foot soldiers and horsemen on the bank of a river.

187 Slab 5: Along the bank of a broad river, a row of chariots is represented advancing towards the right; deciduous trees are shown on a line of hills below and in a plain area at the bottom.

187a Or.Dr. IV, 66; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 29.2 × 53.6 cm (1' 2-1/2" = 36.8 cm), scale given: 2 inches to a foot (1:6) and also ruled at the bottom.

Annotation in pencil: *Kouyunjik chamber R, No 5*.

PLATE 129

188 Slab 6: Not drawn; probably a row of chariots, as on slab 5, or the continuation of the scene on slabs 7–9 (**189–190**).

189 Slab 7 (corner) + 8 + 9: Not drawn, unless Or.Dr. IV, 67 (**190a**) is mistakenly numbered '10. 11'; as nos 10–11 are missing on Layard's plan and as this drawing shows three slabs, it should rather be numbered 7 + 8 + 9; furthermore the description of slabs in this position in Layard, *LN 2C*, f. 10r. corresponds.

190 Slabs [10 + 11] or 7 + 8 + 9 – see **189**: At the left side, part of an Assyrian camp is shown with three tents inside, and a row of officers facing left; in front of them, on the previous slab (**188**), the enthroned king was probably represented. In wooded mountainous country two rows of horses led by soldiers are ascending a steep hill to the right of the camp; at the bottom, the river with fish widens to the left.

190a Or.Dr. IV, 67; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with much white, probably by F. C. Cooper; 29.5 × 47.3 cm (28.9 cm); scale given: 1 in 1/2 to a foot. (1:8).

Annotation in pencil: *'Kouyunjik chamber R. Nos. 10. 11 [7–9? – see 189]'*.

PLATE 129

191 Entrance *a* leading into Room VIII (S), found in a ruined state.

192 Slab from the northeast corner: Soldiers on horseback are ascending a steep hill in wooded mountainous country.

192a? Or.Dr. VI, 29 right; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 42.5 × 67.9 cm (23 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'*.

Gadd, 1936, p. 174.

PLATE 130

193 Slabs [12 + 13 + 14]: Possibly between Entrances *c* (**145**) and *d* (**140**) where three slabs are recorded as having been drawn; see also **204**. Parts of three registers. The upper register probably represented a besieged city with a row of deportees and soldiers. The middle register showed horsemen, the king in his chariot, and a row of spearmen in front of them, advancing towards the right. On the lower part of the slabs hills are depicted. On slabs 12 and 13, horsemen are fighting on top of the hills, at the bottom a row of captives with cattle is moving towards the right; at the bottom of slab 13, a row of Assyrian soldiers is descending the hill, bringing heads of the slain to the scribes on slab

14, where the king in his chariot is receiving them, among spearmen with large round shields and led horses. A space for an inscription is shown in front of the king, but it has not been recorded in the drawing.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 29; Paterson, 1915, pl. 37; Müller, 1928–9, p. 201, fig. 2 (slab 14); Smith, 1960, p. 54, fig. 6 (detail); Magen, 1986, p. 160.

193a Or.Dr. I, 63; unsigned pencil drawing on grey paper, enhanced with white, probably by F. C. Cooper; 39.8 × 67.7 cm; (2' 2-1/16" = 66.2 cm), scale given: 1 in 1/4 to a foot (1:9.6).

Annotation in ink: *Kouyunjik chamber R. Nos. 12. 13. 14*.

Russell, 1991, pp. 54–5, fig. 32, p. 282.

PLATES 130–132

ROOM VIII (S) (PLATES 133–140)

This is actually a suite consisting of a room, entered from Room VII (R) through Entrance *a* (**191**), and a bathroom at the opposite end (see Chapter 3); it is almost entirely destroyed. Slabs 1, 2 and 11–15 in the western room show Sennacherib's campaign in Phoenicia with details similar to those represented in Throneroom I (B). Slabs 3–9 in the bathroom show a campaign in mountainous terrain.

Layard, *LN 2C*, f. 10r-v; Layard, 1853a, pp. 229–30; Paterson, 1915, p. 7; Gadd, 1936, p. 250; Wäfler, 1975, p. 368; Reade, 1979a, p. 88; Russell, 1991, pp. 53, 341; Russell, 1995, pp. 79–80.

Slabs from the western part of Room VIII (S):

194 Slabs 1 (corner) + 2: Not drawn; a procession of led horses was probably represented, as mentioned by Layard, *LN 2C*, f. 10v.

195–197 Slabs 11, 12, 13: Three unconnected slabs drawn on the same sheet.

195a–197a Or.Dr. IV, 68; unsigned pencil drawing on greenish brown paper, enhanced with white, probably by A. H. Layard; 33.3 × 61.1 cm (slab 11: 26.9 cm; slab 12: 10.5 cm; slab 13: 9.8 cm); Scale: 1-1/4 inch to a foot. (1:9.6).

Annotation in pencil: *'Fragments Nos 11. 12. 13 Ch. S Kouyunjik'*.

Russell, 1991, pp. 56–7, fig. 33.

PLATES 134, 136

195a Slab 11: Phoenician galleys are represented out at sea and rowing along the coast.

The bas-reliefs, which had once ornamented the second chamber, had been still more completely destroyed. A few fragments proved that they had recorded the wars of the Assyrians with a maritime people, whose overthrow was represented on more than one sculptured wall in the palace, and who may probably be identified with some nation on the Phoenician coast conquered by Sennacherib, and mentioned in his great inscriptions. Their galleys, rowed by double banks of oarsmen, and the high conical headdress of their women, have already been described.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 229)

De Graeve, 1981, p. 68, pl. XLII, nos 88–90; Russell, 1991, pp. 56–7, fig. 33.

PLATE 134

195b Fragment of slab 11 in London, BM WA 124772 (51-9-2, 30); 66 × 100.2 cm.

Phoenician war galley moving towards the right. In the sea are numerous fish, a crab eating a fish, and a bird.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 48–9, no. 2; Ball, 1899, p. 196; Budge, 1914, pl. 40; Paterson, 1915, p. 4, pl. 11; Meissner, 1920a, Abb. 120; Hall, 1928, pl. XXXIII:1; Gadd, 1936, pp. 163, 226; Smith, 1938, p. 16, pl. XL; Pritchard, 1969a, pp. 31, 253, fig. 106; Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, pl. 66; Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980, p. 78, no. 28; De Graeve, 1981, p. 68, pl. XLII, no. 88a; Reade, 1983, p. 40, fig. 57.

PLATE 135

196a Slab 12: Two registers are shown on the drawing, a battle scene above, and fruit trees on the sea coast with a war galley and fish. However, two fragments of this slab survive showing that originally there was a third register (not drawn). The drawing by S. E. Chapman (196d) shows the relative position of the two fragments of slab 12.¹

Smith, 1960, 58, pp. 44–56, fig. 5 (p. 53) = Chapman's drawing.

PLATE 136

196b Boston, MFA 60.134; ex Canford School; 63.5 × 78.7 cm.

Joins 196c.

Battle scene in mountainous country; the original slab was divided into at least three registers; this fragment is a part of the uppermost, which is only partially divided on the right from the one below. An auxiliary archer and an Assyrian spearman climb up from below on the left. Two spearmen and an archer are in action to the right against Assyrian cavalrymen, the foreparts and heads of whose horses are preserved at the right, and another warrior has already fallen in front of their hooves.

Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London, 16 November 1959, p. 14, lot 58; Weidner, 1959–60, p. 191, fig. 4; Smith, 1960, pp. 4–5, fig. 2; Terrace, 1962, no. 23.

PLATE 137

196c Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum, BLMJ 1063; ex New York, Pomerance Collection; ex Canford School; 45.7 × 71.1 cm.

Joins 196b.

An Assyrian with a crested helmet and a round wicker-work² shield is climbing up a hill to the left; to the right of him, two warriors – an archer and another protecting him with a round shield – are fighting towards the right against an Assyrian(?) cavalryman, only the leg and nose of whose horse survive.

Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 16 November 1959, p. 14, lot 57; Weidner, 1959–60, p. 191, fig. 3; Smith, 1960, pp. 45–6; Terrace, 1966, no. 11, p. 20.

PLATE 137

196d Drawing by S. E. Chapman showing the relative positions of 196b and 196c.

Smith, 1960, p. 53, fig. 5.

PLATE 137

197a A horse led uphill, and a pair of horses standing on the coast; in the sea at the bottom of the slab a Phoenician war galley is represented. See 773 for a fragment which may have come from an adjacent slab.

PLATE 136

198 Slabs 14, 15: Not drawn; row of led horses over a river.

A later drawing may possibly belong to this room:

199 Slab ? : Or.Dr. VI, 6 lower; unsigned pencil drawing probably by C. D. Hodder, on the same sheet of grey paper as 652, enhanced with white and brown wash; 44.3 × 54.6 cm (28.2 cm); scale given: *inch 2 1/2 to the foot. Not connected* (1:4.8).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace Kouyunjik'.

The forepart of a merchant galley with an upturned prow is preserved; the upper deck is manned by spearmen. A crab and a fish are shown in the sea.

De Graeve, 1981, p. 67, pl. XL, no. 86.

PLATE 139

Slabs from the bathroom:

200–201 Slabs 4 and 3 (the latter is recessed): Since the slabs in Layard's plan are numbered from right to left, the slabs in the drawing should strictly speaking be designated 4, 3. Between them would have been the side of the recess (not drawn).

200 Slab 4: A fortified Assyrian camp with a turretted ground-plan is divided into two halves; in the upper, the king's double marquee is shown with several officers, possibly the king's bodyguard, leaving it. The lower half consists of two rows of open tents, allowing various household occupations to be seen inside. The mountainous terrain is shown with trees mainly on the bank of a water-course or the sea coast.

On the best preserved slab was the interior of a fortified camp, amidst mountains. Within the walls were tents whose owners were engaged in various domestic occupations, cooking in pots placed on stones over the fire, receiving the blood of a slaughtered sheep in a jar, and making ready the couches. Warriors were seated before a table, with their shields hung to the tent-pole above them. This bas-relief may confirm what I have elsewhere stated, that the Assyrians were accustomed to dwell in tents within the walls of their cities, as a portion of the inhabitants of many Eastern towns still do; though it is more probable that, in this sculpture, a fortified camp is intended by the turretted ground-plan.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 229–30)

Russell, 1991, pp. 58–9, fig. 34.

201 Slab 3: Two rows of led horses with grooms, facing right, in mountainous country; small water-course at the bottom.

Gadd, 1936, p. 226.

200a–201a Or.Dr. I, 38; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, signed F. C. Cooper; 42.8 × 66.6 cm (left slab, 29.2 cm; right slab, 27.6 cm); scale given: *1 inch 3/4 to a foot.* (1:6.8).

Annotations in pencil: 'Nos. 3 & 4 [should be 4 & 3] Ch: S. Kouyunjik'.

Russell, 1991, pp. 58–9, fig. 34.

PLATES 138, 140

200b Istanbul, AM 6341d+b; d: 25.4 × 27.9 cm.; b: 29.5 × 33 cm. Two fragments, which join, showing the lower half of the Assyrian camp, with parts of two tents.

Gadd, 1936, p. 226.

PLATE 139

202 Slabs 5 + 6 (corner) + 7 + 8: Nothing known; the slabs were probably entirely defaced.

203 Slabs 9 + 10: Forming the northwest side of the Entrance to the bathroom. Two colossal figures facing towards the southwest; that on slab 10 is lion-headed with a raised right hand (Layard, *LN 2C*, f. 10v).

Notes

- 1 Smith, 1960, was not able to attribute these two fragments of slab 12 correctly, because Or.Dr. IV, 68 was not published until 1981 by De Graeve.
- 2 What we call 'wicker-work' may have been covered with iron bands; see Pleiner & Bjorkman, 1974, p. 291.

ROOM IX (P) (PLATE 141)

This room was entered from Court VI (I) through Entrances *b*, *g* and *f* (**123**, **127**, **131**); at the opposite side of Room IX (P) three doorways *b* (**208**), *c* (**209**), and *d* (**210**) led into Room X (Q). According to Layard's notebook, very little of remained of the sculptures; he does not mention having drawn any of the slabs or fragments, but in his plan (PLATE 12) he marked 14 numbered slabs.

At Kouyunjik several new chambers had been opened. The western portal of the great hall, whose four sides were now completely uncovered, led into a long narrow chamber (eighty-two feet by twenty-six), the walls of which had unfortunately been almost entirely destroyed. On such fragments, however, as remained were traces of the usual subjects – battles and victories. There was nothing remarkable in the dresses of the captives, or in the details, to give any clue to the conquered people, whose country was simply represented by wooded mountains and a broad river.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 228)

Layard, *LN 2C*, f. 9; Paterson, 1915, p. 7; Reade, 1979a, p. 88; Russell, 1991, pp. 53, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 79.

204 'Fragments of slabs near second North entrance' (*LN 2C*, f. 9r) probably means the second entrance leading north on the west side of Room IX (P), i.e. slabs numbered 12–14 on Layard's plan. The description of these slabs fits the drawing of slabs 12–14 in Chamber R (Room VII) – see **193**. However there are no slabs with these numbers on Layard's plan of that room and confusion may have arisen in the numbering of Rooms P and R.

205–206 The following drawings and fragments would also seem to belong to this room. They appear to join, but if the scales are correct this would be impossible.

205a Slab ? Or.Dr. II, 58 upper; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *Henry A. Churchill* 26.2 × 36.3 cm (32.7 cm); measurement given: W. 4 ft. (121.9 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*P. fragment*'.

Parts of two registers remained; in the upper, only the forelegs of a horse; in the lower, parts of three horses and of two grooms in mountainous country.

PLATE 141

205b Fragment of this slab in Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia; 65 × 38 cm.

Riaño, 1895, p. 266 (drawing of fragment); Peñuela, 1966, pp. 247–52, pl. III; Reade, 1972, p. 110, pl. XXXVIIa.

PLATE 141

206a Slab ? Or.Dr. II, 58 lower; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *Henry A. Churchill*; 26.2 × 36.3 cm (24.7 cm); measurements given: H. 2 ft; W. 4 ft (60.9 × 121.9 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*P. fragment*'.

The lower part of a slab, covered with mountain-scale pattern. Three spearmen with large round shields are marching towards the right; behind them, a cavalryman with a spear holds the reins of his horse, of which only the forelegs remain.

PLATE 141

206b Fragment of this slab in Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia; 64 × 40 cm.

Two Assyrian spearmen with round shields in mountainous country.

Riaño, 1895, 266 (drawing of fragment); Peñuela, 1966, pp. 247–52, pl. II; Reade, 1972, p. 110, pl. XXXVIIa.

PLATE 141

207 Not used.

208 Entrance *b* leading into Room X (Q); completely destroyed.

209 Entrance *c* leading into Room X (Q); two colossal figures facing into Room IX (P).

210 Entrance *d* leading into Room X (Q); not mentioned by Layard.

ROOM X (Q) (PLATES 142–143)

Three entrances, *b*, *c* and *d* (**208–210**), led from Room IX (P) into this room. In the opposite wall, Entrance *a* (**215**) led into Room XI (AAA). As mentioned by Layard in his notebook, only a few slabs remained. Although slabs are indicated almost all round the room, only those in the southeastern half are numbered, beginning to the south of Entrance *c* (**209**).

Scenes of Sennacherib's third campaign were probably represented in this room; the deportation of the gods (**214**) is recorded: 'Sidqa, king of Ashkelon, who did not bow to my yoke, I deported and sent to Assyria, his family gods, himself, his wife, his children, his brothers, all the male members of

his family' (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 30; Luckenbill, 1927, p. 142, no. 310; A. L. Oppenheim in Pritchard, 1969b, p. 287); see also Barnett, 1985, p. 25; Börker-Klähn, 1973, pp. 43–4. These statuettes cannot be taken as examples of Assyrian sculpture in the round, since they are clearly part of the Assyrian spoil; see also 606–608.

In the chamber beyond a few slabs were still standing in their original places. In length this room was the same as that parallel to it, but in breadth it was only eighteen feet. The bas-reliefs represented the siege and sack of one of the many cities taken by the great king, and the transfer of its captives to some distant province of Assyria. The prisoners were dressed in garments falling to the calves of their legs, and the women wore a kind of turban. Although the country was mountainous, its inhabitants used the camel as a beast of burden, and in the sculptures it was represented laden with the spoil.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 228–9)

Layard, *LN* 2C, f. 9v–10r; Paterson, 1915, p. 7; Reade, 1979a, p. 88; Russell, 1991, pp. 53, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 79.

211 Slabs 1 + 2 + 3: Not mentioned by Layard.

[208] Entrance *b* leading into Room IX (P).

212 Slabs 4 + 5 or 5 + 6: Two slabs of which two registers remained, the upper showing soldiers driving away camels, probably as spoil; below, a row of deportees with cattle, and men kneeling before Assyrian soldiers in mountainous country; not drawn.

213–214 Slabs 7 + 8 + 9 + 10 + 11: Only slabs 7 (**213**) and 11 (**214**) were drawn; slabs 8–10 showed lines of soldiers leading horses.

Slab 7: Parts of two registers remained; above, horses in mountainous country; below, a fortified Assyrian camp divided into two halves by a band with a partially preserved one-line inscription reading: 'Camp of Senn[...]' The upper half of the camp shows a cultic ceremony taking place, the lower some small marquees and open tents.

Slab 11: Divided horizontally by the walls of a captured city in mountainous country, the turrets of which are manned by soldiers; beyond the walls deportees are descending a hill. In the hilly country of the lower register a row of deportees is shown, followed by three pairs of Assyrian soldiers or officials carrying small statuettes of gods and goddesses, probably the gods of Ashkelon. A row of deportees with spoil, among them a family with a loaded camel, is advancing towards the left, where two scribes are receiving them; a soldier facing right is represented behind the scribes and others were probably depicted on slab 10.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 50; Paterson, 1915, pl. 38.

213a–214a Or.Dr. IV, 65; unsigned pencil drawing on light grey paper, enhanced with white, probably by A. H. Layard; 35.2 × 60 cm (34.9 cm); at the bottom a ruled scale indicates that a scale of approximately 2 inches to a foot (1:6) was used.

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 7 & 11 Ch. Q Kouyunjik'.

The yokes of the cultic chariot are drawn separately and enlarged.

Barnett, 1985, pp. 25–6, fig. 9; Russell, 1991, pp. 60–1 fig. 35; *SAA* I, fig. 32; *SAA* IV, fig. 5.

PLATES 142–143

215 Entrance *a* leading into Room XI (AAA); completely destroyed.

216 Destroyed reliefs at the northwest end of the room. Fragments showed warriors and scribes receiving prisoners and cattle.

ROOM XI (AAA)

According to Layard's ground-plan this room had only a single entrance, *a* (**215**) from Room X (Q); most of the northern end seems to have been entirely destroyed, or not excavated. Only three slabs are numbered on the southwestern wall of this room.

Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 31v; Paterson, 1915, p. 7; Reade, 1979a, p. 88; Russell, 1991, pp. 54, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 83.

217 Slab 1 + 2 + 3: Not drawn; three rows of deportees with camels and bullocks in wooded mountainous country; probably scenes from the same campaign as that shown in Room X (Q), Sennacherib's third campaign against Syria-Palestine in 701 BC.

ROOM XII (L) (PLATES 144–156)

This was a narrow passage connecting Court VI (I) through the wide Entrance *i* (**120**) with Room XLVIII (M) through Entrance *b* (**223**). The conquest of a city, perhaps in Phoenicia, is represented. The numbering starts to the south of Entrance *i* (**120**).

Layard, *LN* 2C, f. 8r; Layard, 1853a, pp. 73–4; Paterson, 1915, p. 7; Gadd, 1936, p. 250; Wäfler, 1975, p. 368; Reade, 1979a, p. 88; Russell, 1991, pp. 55, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 78.

218 Slabs 1 (corner) + 2 + 3 + 4: Not drawn; rows of warriors and deportees survived.

219–221 Slabs 5 + 6 + 7:

The opposite side of this narrow chamber, or passage, was shortly afterwards uncovered. The bas-reliefs on its wall represented the king in his chariot, preceded and followed by his warriors. The only remarkable feature in the sculptures was the highly decorated trappings of the horses, whose bits were in the form of a horse at full speed (**220**, detail PLATE 148).

(Layard, 1853a, p. 74)

Gadd, 1936, p. 165.

219a–221a Or.Dr. I, 35; unsigned pencil drawing probably by F. C. Cooper, on greenish brown paper, enhanced with white; 43.3 × 66.8 cm (1' 10 11/16" = 57.6 cm; scale given: 1 in 3/4 to a foot. (1:6.8).

Annotations in pencil: 'Kouyunjik Chamber L. Nos. 5.6.7.'

This shows three registers on either side of slab 6, which was badly damaged but represented the king in his chariot moving towards the left with soldiers and horses below; there were three rows of Assyrian soldiers on slab 5, with only the lower parts of the upper row remaining; on slab 7 were more soldiers and led horses.

Gadd, 1936, p. 165, pl. 15; Reade, 1980, pl. 6a; Magen, 1986, p. 160.
PLATES 145–147

219b–220b Slabs 5 and 6: Original in London, BM WA 124783a+b (51-9-2, 19); 110.5 × 198.1 cm; gypsum.

Lower part of upper register, and most of middle register of slab 5 with rows of Assyrian soldiers, as well as part of the main register of slab 6 with two officials and the horses of the king's chariot.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 63–4, nos 18–19; Gadd, 1936, p. 165; Smith, 1938, p. 18, pl. XLIV.

PLATE 148 (with detail)

221b Slab 7 (middle register): Original in London, BM WA 124779 (51-9-2, 24); 73.6 × 137.2 cm.

Part of the wheel of the king's chariot followed by Assyrian soldiers with led horses.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, p. 60, no. 13; Paterson, 1915, p. 14, pl. 97, no. 13; Smith, 1938, p. 18, pl. XLV.

PLATES 149, 156

221c Slab 7 (bottom register): Original in London, BM WA 124780 (51-9-2, 23); 82.5 × 137.2 cm.

Horses led towards the left.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 60–1, no. 14; Paterson, 1915, p. 14, pl. 97, no. 14; Gadd, 1936, p. 165; Smith, 1938, p. 18, pl. XLVI; Nagel, 1967, pl. 9.

PLATES 149, (details) 148, 149

222 Slabs 8 (corner) + 9: Not drawn; probably showed led horses and rows of Assyrian soldiers.

223 Entrance *b* leading into Room XLVIII (M); this was lined with slabs 7 and 8 (520–521) in Layard's numbering of that room.

224 Slab 10 (corner): Not drawn.

225–229 Slabs 11? + 12 + 13 + 14 + 15:

According to Layard's plan, slabs 15 and 16 were in the recess which, as Turner has suggested in Chapter 3, was made to receive the door of Entrance *i* when it was open. The reliefs seem to indicate that this was a secondary feature: the right edge of slab 14 was cut back, there is a lack of continuity between slabs 14 and 15 and there is a difference in scale. Perhaps the original of slab 15 was damaged when the recess was constructed, and a slab was brought from elsewhere to replace it.

This doorway [*i*, 120] led into a narrow passage, one side of which had alone been excavated; on it was represented the siege of a walled city, divided into two parts by a river. One half of the place had been captured by the Assyrians, who had gained possession of the towers and battlements, but that on the opposite bank of the stream was still defended by slingers and bowmen. Against its walls had been thrown banks or mounds, built of stones, bricks, and branches of trees. The battering-rams, covered with skins or hides looped together, had been rolled up these inclined ways, and had already made a breach in the fortifications. Archers and spearmen were hurrying to the assault, whilst others were driving off the captives, and carrying away the idols of the enemy.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 73–4)

Layard, 1853b, pl. 18 (slabs 13–15); Paterson, 1915, pl. 39 upper (slabs 13–15).

225a–226a Or.Dr. II, 66; pencil drawing on white cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 33.2 × 49.8 cm (46 cm); measurements given: H. 1 ft. 6 in.; W. 7 ft. 5 in. (45.7 × 226 cm).

Annotations in pencil: '*No 5 Second Series*'; '*Portion of a besieged city*'.

Lower parts of slabs 11? + 12, showing a row of soldiers, only legs and kilts remaining, advancing towards the right in mountainous country; the middle part is entirely destroyed. The right part of slab 12 shows the course of a river, forming a right angle to enclose the walls of a city, the defenders of which are visible at the top of the turrets.

PLATE 150

226b Alternative drawing of slab 12 showing overlap with slab 13 (227): Or.Dr. IV, VIII Miscellaneous; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, remained probably unfinished; 22.7 × 35.4 cm (about 25 cm); scale ruled at the bottom but measurements not clear.

Annotation in pencil: '*Town on the banks of a river*'. Remains of a siege-ramp can be distinguished, and a stream runs almost vertically and another horizontally around a city which has a fortified wall with defenders on top of the turrets. The stream and wall continue on slab 13 only part of which is shown.

PLATE 150

227a–229a Slabs 13 + 14 + 15: Or.Dr. IV, 59; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 29.3 × 57.7 cm (54.2 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Kouyunjik Chamber L, Nos 13. 14. 15.*'.

Assyrian soldiers attacking a triple-walled city from the right. It is built on a hill, and a river is represented flowing through it horizontally between the first and the second walls. Its walls are fortified with turrets and battlements; on top of the towers and the wall appear soldiers with round shields. The Assyrians have built a siege-ramp up the hill to the third city wall. Up this they move their battering rams, and pairs of archers are discharging arrows. Along the river, inside the city, a row of deportees is shown advancing towards the right, where soldiers in three registers are still in action against the city. Behind them, on slab 15, the upper register is filled with Assyrian soldiers carrying spoil towards the right; two of them have a statue, somewhat smaller than life size, only the lower part of which remains. Two rows of male and female deportees are led towards the right by Assyrian soldiers.

Russell, 1991, pp. 162–3, fig. 83.

PLATES 152, 154

227b Alternative drawing of slab 13: Or.Dr. II, 67; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 54.9 × 36.5 cm (30.1 cm); measurements given: H. 6 ft. 8 in.; W. 4 ft. 8 in. (203.2 × 142.2 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*No. 4 Second Series*'.

PLATE 151

228b Alternative drawing of slab 14: Or.Dr. II, 68; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 54.9 × 38.1 cm.

(36.1 cm); measurements given: H. 6 ft. 8 in.; W. 5 ft. 8 in. (203.2 × 172.7 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No. 3 Second Series'.

PLATE 153

229b Alternative drawing of slab 15 left: Or.Dr. II, 69; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 54.7 × 37.7 cm (30.4 cm); measurements given: H. 6 ft. 7 in. (200.6 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'No. 2 Second Series'.

PLATE 155

229c Alternative drawing of slab 15 right: Or.Dr. II, 56; pencil drawing on white cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 44.2 × 32.7 cm (21.2 cm); measurements given: H. 5 ft. 5 in.; W. 2 ft. 10 in. (165.1 × 86.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No. 1 Second Series'.

Right part of two lower registers each with two pairs of deportees.

PLATE 155

230 Slab 16 + corner: Not drawn; slingers and archers in a row in wooded, mountainous country.

ROOM XIII (J) (PLATE 157)

Three entrances *l*, *k* and *j* (**107**, **114**, **118**) from Court VI (I) led into this room. In the southwestern part of the room on Layard's plan (PLATE 13) slabs are shown, but are not numbered. Layard found the sculptures almost entirely destroyed. On the surviving fragments he was able to see wooded mountainous country, led horses, rows of soldiers advancing towards a city built on a hill, and Assyrian soldiers climbing up ladders to storm the city.

Layard, *LN2C*, f. 7r–8r; Layard, 1853a, pp. 71–2; Paterson, 1915, p. 7; Wäfler, 1975, p. 368; Reade, 1979a, p. 88; Russell, 1991, pp. 55, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 78.

231 Entrance *a* leading into Room XIV (K); two figures facing east on each side, the first winged and the second with the legs of a lion; only the lower parts survived. Russell (1991, p. 182, fig. 96) has suggested that the following drawing illustrates this doorway but it may depict another entrance, e.g. **323** between Rooms XXIV (GG) and XXVI (MMM), or **472** between Rooms XLIII (KK) and XLIV (LL).

231a? Or.Dr. II, 43 (a + b); pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 32.7 × 48.8 cm (a: 38.1 cm; b: 34.9 cm); measurements given: H. 2 ft.; W. 11 ft. (60.9 × 335.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Portions of winged figures'.

a: Lower parts of two slabs at an entrance, showing a figure with the hind legs of a lion standing upright and, in front, the barefoot legs of a winged genius who is wearing a short kilt with two tassels hanging down; both figures face right.

b: Lower parts of similar figures, facing left.

Russell, 1991, p. 182, fig. 96.

PLATE 157

231b? Alternative drawing: Or.Dr. IV, V Miscellaneous; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, with brown wash on whitish paper; 20.7 × 33.3 cm (22.8 cm).

232 Entrance *b* leading into Room XV; Layard does not describe this entrance.

ROOM XIV (K) (PLATES 158–182)

This room depicted the siege of . . . *-alAlammu* whose inhabitants were hill-men who wore skin cloaks like those of the Medes and lived in a fertile region probably east or north of Assyria; vines and pomegranate trees grew there. The only entrance, *a* (**231**), led from Room XIII (J). All the slabs in this room are numbered in Layard's plan (PLATE 12). They were all drawn, with the exception of those near the entrance (i.e. slabs 1 + 2 + 3 and 17), and slabs 7 and 12 in the corners.

A small doorway to the right of the portal formed by the winged bulls, led into a further chamber, in which an entrance had been found into a third room, whose walls had been completely uncovered. Its dimensions were 26 feet by 23, and it had but this one outlet, flanked on either side by two colossal figures, whose lower extremities alone remained, the upper part of the slabs having been destroyed [**231**]: one appeared to have been eagle-headed, with the body of a man, and the other a monster, with human head and the feet of a lion. The bas-reliefs round the chamber represented the siege of a castle standing on an artificial mound, surrounded at its base by houses. The besieged defended themselves on the walls and turrets with bows, spears, and stones. The Assyrian army was composed of spearmen, slingers, and bowmen, some of whom had already gained the housetops. Male and female captives had been taken and heads cut off; the victorious warriors according to custom, and probably to claim a reward, bringing them to the registrars. The led horses and body-guard of the king was still preserved, but that part of the bas-relief containing the monarch himself, probably standing in his chariot, had been destroyed. In the back ground were wooded mountains; vines and other trees formed a distinct band in the middle of the slabs; and a river ran at the foot of the mound. The dress of the male prisoners consisted either of a long robe falling to the ankles, or of a tunic reaching to the knees, over which was thrown an outer garment, apparently made of the skins of animals, and they wore greaves laced up in front. The women were clothed in a robe descending to the feet, with an outer fringed garment thrown over the shoulders; a kind of hood or veil covered the back of the head, and fell over the neck. Above the castle was the fragment of an inscription in two lines, containing the name of the city, of which unfortunately the first character is wanting. It reads: 'The city of . . . alammu I attacked and captured; I carried away its spoil.' No name, however, corresponding with it has yet been found in the royal annals, and we can only infer, from the nature of the country represented, that the place was in a mountainous district to the north of Assyria. It is remarkable that in this chamber, as in others afterwards explored, some of the slabs (those adjoining the entrance) had been purposely defaced, every vestige of sculpture having been carefully removed by a sharp instrument.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 72–3)

Layard, *LN2C*, f. 8r; Paterson, 1915, p. 7; Gadd, 1936, p. 250; Wäfler, 1975, pp. 368–9; Reade, 1979a, p. 88; Russell, 1991, pp. 54–6, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 78.

233 Slabs 1 + 2 + 3: Not drawn; the surface of these slabs had been removed.

234–236 Slabs 4 + 5 + 6: Lower part of slabs showing two registers separated by a broad band; on slabs 5 + 6 the upper register is partly preserved showing a row of soldiers facing right; in the lower register, a row of vines and pomegranate trees is shown above led horses and grooms, spearmen with large and small round shields, and two pairs of slingers and an archer still in action to the right; river with fish at the bottom.

234a–236a Or.Dr. IV, 57; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 36.6 × 64.4 cm (54.8 cm); scale given: *1 in 1/4 to a foot* (1:9.6).

Annotation in pencil: *'Kouyunjik Chamber K Nos. 4. 5. 6.'*
Gadd, 1936, p. 166, pl. 16; Russell, 1991, p. 220, fig. 121.
PLATES 159, 160, 162

234b–236b Originals in London, BM WA 124784a–c (51-9-2, 21), slab 4: 70.4-74.9 × 136.5 cm; slab 5: 118.7 × 160 cm; slab 6: 128.2 × 181.6 cm.

Most of the lower register remains, but on slabs 5 and 6, only the feet of the soldiers in the upper register are preserved and the remainder has been sawn off.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 64–5, nos 20–2; Smith, 1938, p. 19, pls LVI–LIX.
PLATES 159, 161, 163

237 Slab 7 (corner): Not drawn; on the bottom register there were probably Assyrian archers discharging arrows towards the right, with vines and pomegranate trees above.

238–241 Slabs 8 + 9 + 10 + 11: Slabs 8 + 9 show only the lower parts of the upper register with the legs of a row of soldiers; on the lower register, vine and pomegranate trees alternate above pairs of Assyrian archers protected by body-shields, and kneeling archers who are discharging arrows beside houses on the outskirts of the city.

Slab 10 seems to be preserved to its complete height in a small area: it bears part of a two-line inscription with the name of the city ... *alAlammu* above the towers of the inner city-wall. The city is built on top of a hill, the outer and the inner walls of which are fortified with turrets and battlements¹ without windows. On the right slope of the hill an arched doorway flanked by turrets is represented. Archers and a spearman are kneeling at the foot of the hill and below them, at the bottom of these slabs, alternating vines and pomegranate trees are shown on the banks of a river. Inscription on slab 10:

- 1 []-*a*/Alammu² I besieged [I conquered]
- 2 [I car]ried off [its] spoil.

Slab 11, the left corner of which seems to be preserved to its full height, shows wooded mountainous country above a row of Assyrian soldiers who are attacking the city from the right; the lower register shows a spearman and archers on the roofs of houses, and kneeling archers behind body-shields in front of the houses on the bank of a river with fish.

Layard, 1853a, p. 72; Layard, 1853b, pl. 39; Paterson, 1915, pl. 39 lower; Budge, 1922, pp. 53–4; Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, pp. 466–7, fig. 212 (detail of slab 10); Gadd, 1936, p. 167.

238a–241a Or.Dr. IV, 58; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 33.3 × 67.1 cm (61.9 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'Kouyunjik Chamber K Nos. 8. 9. 10. 11.'*
Russell, 1991, pp. 26–7, fig. 17.

PLATES 164, 166, 168, 170

238b–241b Originals in London, BM WA 124785a–d (51-9-2, 18); slab 8: 124 × 133.3 cm; slab 9: 123.8 × 119.3 cm; slab 10: 243.2 × 171.4 cm; slab 11: 243.8 × 160 cm.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 65–8, nos 23–6; Paterson, 1901–11, pls XC–XCI (slabs 8 + 9); XCIII–XCIV (slab 10); Smith, 1938, p. 19, pls LX–LXIV.

PLATES 165, 167, 169, 171, (details) 164–167, 173, 182

240c Alternative drawing of slab 10: Or.Dr. II, 41; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 55.2 × 37.7 cm (34.2 cm); measurements given: *H. 7 ft. 9 in.; W. 5 ft. 7 in.* (236.2 × 170.2 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'No 7 Third Series.'*

241c Alternative drawing of slab 11: Or.Dr. II, 40; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, probably by H. A. Churchill; 55.5 × 37.4 cm (26.3 cm; 32.3 cm); measurements given: *H. 7 ft. 6 in.; W. 5 ft. 6 in.* (228.6 × 167.6 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'No 6. Third Series.'*

PLATE 172

242 Slab 12 (corner): Not drawn; probably represented Assyrian soldiers attacking the city, and behind them a row of deportees as on the following slabs, but the annotation on **243b** states that **242** was 'a ruin'.

243–246 Slabs 13 + 14 + 15 + 16: The upper register of slab 14 shows mountainous country, a row of deportees on slabs 13 + 14, and Assyrian soldiers bringing heads of slain enemies to two scribes. The lower register is dedicated to the same subject: below a row of vines alternating with pomegranate trees, male and female deportees, some of them wearing garments made from animal skins, are advancing towards the right, following soldiers carrying heads of slain enemies; they face a row of spearmen, followed by grooms and led horses on slabs 15 + 16; a river with fish at the bottom of each slab.

Gadd, 1936, p. 167.

243a–246a Or.Dr. I, 34; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 36.7 × 64.4 cm (60.9 cm); scale given: *1 inch & 1/4 to a foot* (1:8).

Annotation in pencil: *'Kouyunjik Chamber K, Nos 13. 14. 15. 16.'*

Only the upper part of the '3' in '13' was written and this was later incorrectly copied in ink at 12; the join and the note on **243b** make this clear.

Russell, 1991, p. 29, fig. 18.

PLATES 174, 178, 181

243b–244b Originals of slabs 13 + 14 in London, BM WA 124786a+b (51-9-2, 17); slab 13: 116.5 × 78.4 cm; slab 14: 173.3 × 165.7 cm.

A small part showing a female prisoner at the left side of slab 13, and the left part of the upper register of slab 14 are now missing in the original. Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 69–70, nos 27–8; Paterson, 1901–11, pl. XCII (slabs 13 + 14 detail); Paterson, 1915, pl. 98, nos 27–8; Smith, 1938, pp. 17–18, pl. XLII.

PLATES 175. (details) 173, 175, 177

243c Alternative drawing of slab 13: Or.Dr. II, 39; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 36.3 × 26.2 cm (18.4 cm); measurements given: H. 4 ft. 3 in., W. 3 ft. (129.5 × 91.4 cm). Annotations in pencil: *'Captives and spoil Warriors slaying captive', 'No 5 Third series', 'N.B. No. 6 of this series, a ruin'*.

PLATE 176

244c Alternative drawing of slab 14: Or.Dr. II, 38; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 55.5 × 37.9 cm (35.2 cm); measurements given: H. 6 ft. 7 in.; W. 5 ft. 6 in. (200.6 × 167.6 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'No. 4 Third Series'*.

PLATE 176

245b Original of slab 15 in London, BM WA 124787 (51-9-2, 16); 92.7 × 149.2 cm.

Only the lower right part of the lower register of slab 15, as shown on the drawing, remains.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 70–1, no. 29; Paterson, 1901–11, pl. LII; Paterson, 1915, pl. 98, no. 29; Smith, 1938, p. 18, pl. XLIII.

PLATE 179 (with detail)

245c Alternative drawing of slab 15: Or.Dr. II, 37; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 38.2 × 55.9 cm (45.4 cm); measurements given: H. 5 ft. 6 in.; W. 7 ft. (167.6 × 213.3 cm).

Annotations in pencil: *'No. 3 Third Series'*.

PLATE 180

246b Alternative drawing of slab 16: Or.Dr. II, 70; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 26 × 36.3 (27 cm); measurements given: H. 3 ft. 8 in.; W. 4 ft. 2 in. (111.7 × 127 cm).

Annotations in pencil: *'No. 2 Third Series', 'N.B. No 1 of this series, a ruin - '*.

PLATE 181

247 Slab 17 (corner slab? near the entrance): Not drawn, probably the scenes of slabs 13–16 continued but the surface had been removed. However, Barnett suggested it might have borne a representation of the king.

Notes

- 1 The fortified double-walls may possibly be compared with an Anatolian city such as that represented on a relief from the Central Palace of Tiglath-pileser III. Barnett & Falkner, 1962, pp. 94–5, pls XVI–XVII.
- 2 The identification of this city is still uncertain. For a discussion of the possibilities see Wäfler, 1975, pp. 281–2: (a) [^{URU}*ur-sa*]-*al-am-mu*,

'Jerusalem' (still taken as a possibility in Budge, 1922, pp. 53–4) is almost certainly wrong; (b) (^{URU}*al-am-mu*, 'Alammu', is more likely and is possibly to be equated with ^{URU}*a-la-mu* in a letter of the time of Sargon, K. 1079, obv. 5 (Harper, 1909, no. 891 = Waterman, 1930, no. 891; there is no doubt about the reading *la* in *a-la-mu* which was questioned by Harper but collated in 1989 by Dr I. L. Finkel). This suggests that it was in the north, on the way to Urartu (see Olmstead, 1923, pp. 266, 313). [TCM]

ROOM XV

Neither Entrance *b* (232) leading into Room XIII (J) nor Entrance *c* (248) leading into Room XVI, nor the walls of this rather small room are shown in Layard's plan (PLATE 13) as lined with wall slabs, and both its shape and its two entrances remain uncertain. Room XV is not mentioned in Layard's notebooks or in the text transcribed by Russell (1995).

Reade, 1979a, p. 88 ('hypothetical'); Russell, 1991, pp. 57, 341.

248 Entrance *c* leading into Room XVI.

ROOM XVI

Entrance *b* (249) leads from this room into Room XVII (F), Entrance *c* (248) into Room XV, but the third entrance (250), leading into Room XLV (D), is not marked with any letter on Layard's plan (PLATE 13). Room XVI is shown on this plan as lined with slabs only on its northeastern side, but no slabs are numbered, and this room is not mentioned in Layard's notebooks.

Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 60; Reade, 1979a, p. 88; Russell, 1991, p. 57.

249 Entrance *b* leading into Room XVII (F); shown on Layard's plan (PLATE 13) as lined with slabs on both sides.

250 Entrance leading into Room XLV (D); shown on Layard's plan (PLATE 13) as lined with slabs on its northeastern side.

ROOM XVII (F) (PLATES 183–186)

The only entrance leading into this room is Entrance *b* (249) from the hypothetical Room XVI. Room XVII (F) contained 13 slabs which are numbered on Layard's plans. On the right hand side of this entrance are slabs 1 + 2; slab 3 is a corner-slab as is slab 7. Slab 5 forms a small niche indicating that this room was a bathroom. Slabs 8 + 9 + 10 lined the width of this room opposite the entrance. After corner-slab 11 only slabs 12 + 13 are numbered. The remaining half of this wall seems not to have been excavated by Layard (PLATE 8) but it may have been excavated later (see 263–264).

The bas-reliefs on the walls of chamber F, recorded the victories and triumphs of the king in a mountainous country, and the siege of a city standing on the banks of a river. The king stood in his chariot, and around him were warriors leading away horses and captives, bringing heads to the scribes, and contending in battle with the enemy. All the slabs, however were equally injured. The figures upon them could scarcely be distinguished.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 136)

Layard, *LN* 1, f. 52r; Paterson, 1915, p. 7; Reade, 1979a, p. 88; Russell, 1991, pp. 57–9; 341; Russell, 1995, p. 75.

The reliefs were probably not drawn at the time, although the statement in Layard's notebook that slabs 1 and 2 were not drawn implies that other slabs may have been. On the basis of Layard's statement that a river runs along the bottom of the slabs, the following drawings may possibly have been made from slabs in this room by C. D. Hodder, certainly after the end of Layard's excavations as is shown by the reference to the 'Old Palace'. A river running along the bottom of the slabs is also found in Room XIV (K) but there is no space for these slabs there. Perhaps the decoration of Room XVII was continued on the southeastern wall of Room XVI.

251 Slabs 1 and 2: Entirely destroyed.

252–253 Slabs 3 (corner) + 4 + edge of niche:

Slab 3: This shows the lower part of an upper register, where the king in his chariot was represented; only the legs of his bodyguard and the front hooves of the horses remain. In the lower register, below a row of vines alternating with other trees, Assyrian spearmen, followed by archers leading their horses, are advancing towards the left along the banks of a river with fish.

Slab 4: Led horses and grooms along the banks of a river full of fish continued on this slab and onto its edge which formed the left side of the bathroom niche. The upper register apparently showed scribes numbering heads.

252a–253a Or.Dr. VI, 19; two pencil drawings on the same sheet of grey paper, enhanced with white and brown, signed *C. D. Hodder*; 66.9 × 47.6 cm; upper (**253**: 39.8 cm); lower (**252**: 41.6 cm); scale given: *2-1/2 to the foot* (1:4.8).

Annotation in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'.

SA II, fig. 16.

PLATES 184–185

254 Slab 5: Probably not drawn; a broad slab in the bathroom recess showing two lines of soldiers.

255 Slab 6: A castle on the river; this cannot be **691** which is in mountainous country (but see **257**).

256 Slab 7: Three pairs of archers kneel discharging arrows to the left towards the castle depicted on slab 6; a fourth pair of Assyrian archers is standing on the right side. Only the lower part of the slab was preserved; in the centre is a house with a parapet, and the legs of a kneeling soldier

on the roof; a river with fish is represented at the bottom. A similar type of house is depicted in Room XIV (K) (**239**).

256a Or.Dr. VI, 18 lower; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Holder, on grey paper, enhanced with white and brown; 44.4 × 55.2 cm (40 cm); scale given: *2-1/2 to the foot* (1:4.8).

Annotation in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'.

Gadd, 1936, p. 174.

PLATE 184

257 Slab 8 (corner): A led horse and three soldiers following a chariot. A lower register with other led horses; the slab 'is covered' (*LN* 1, f. 52r) or 'in corner' (Russell, 1995, p. 75) with trees and mountains.

258 Slab 9: A led horse and three soldiers.

259 Slab 10: Three soldiers.

260 Slab 11: An Assyrian archer protected by a body-shield is shown still in action to the left; behind him and facing right, an Assyrian soldier is urging on two pairs of captives wearing cloaks of animal skin. In front of them three women are advancing towards the right, behind another pair of male captives; at the bottom is a river with fish.

260a Or.Dr. VI, 18 upper; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on grey paper, enhanced with white and brown; 44.4 × 55.3 cm; (40.2 cm), scale given: *2-1/2 to the foot* (1:4.8).

Annotation in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'.

Gadd, 1936, p. 174.

PLATE 185

261 Slab 12: Entirely destroyed.

262 Slab 13: Groups of archers.

The following slabs may perhaps have continued the scene along the southeastern walls of Rooms XVII (F) and XVI since they show the same river flowing along the bottom (see the Introduction to the present room).

263 Slabs (?): Or.Dr. VI, 5; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown; 35.8 × 49.8 cm (40.6 cm); scale given: *2-1/2 to the foot* (1:4.8).

Annotation in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'.

The lower parts of two joining slabs were preserved; the first shows cattle, and a flock of sheep and goats, driven towards the right along the banks of a river with fish. The second slab represents four deportees facing two scribes (see **751**), below vines and other trees.

Gadd, 1936, p. 174; *SA* V, figs 22 and 37.

PLATE 186

264 Slabs(?): Or.Dr. VI, 26; pencil drawing on grey paper, enhanced with white and brown, probably by C. D. Hodder; 34.9 × 50.8 cm (42.8 cm); scale given: *2-1/2 to the foot* (1:4.8).

Annotations in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'; 'WB' or 'MB' (see **369b** note); '2' and '1' beneath the slabs.

Lower parts of two slabs; below grape-vines, Assyrian soldiers hold the reins of their horses and stand on the banks of a river.

PLATE 186

ROOM XVIII

This hypothetical room is not marked on Layard's unpublished plan (PLATES 10–14) or mentioned in his notebooks. It is a passage between Court VI (I) and Court XIX (U) through Room XX, entered from the northwest through Entrance *m* (97–98). It may not have been lined with slabs, or have been only partially lined because when digging through from Room IV (A) to Room XLV (D) Layard failed to recognise Room XVIII (Layard, 1849a, II, p. 135 and cf. PLATE 8).

In shape, size and function Room XVIII is closely comparable to Rooms XXVIII (FF) and XLII (N). Room NNN, which is not numbered in any of Layard's published ground-plans, was perhaps similar in shape to Room XVIII.

Reade (1967, p. 45) has suggested that the partly recarved slab, London BM WA 124773 (184b) possibly originated at the north end of Room XVIII (Russell, 1991, pp. 60–1) but Layard's papers (see 184 for references) have shown that it was found in Entrance *b* (154) and not in Entrance *m* (97–98).

265 Entrance *a* leading into Room XX.

COURT XIX (U) (PLATES 187–222)

This, the largest inner court, has, like Court VI (I), main entrances formed by bull or lion colossi on each side. These are Entrances *a* (301), *l* (268), *b* (280), and *d* (298). Entrance *a* (301) in the northeast is flanked by Entrances *b* (300) leading into Room XX, and *n* (266) leading into Room XXIII (OOO). Entrance *b* (282) in the southwest is flanked by Entrances *i* (276) and *g* (289), both leading into Room XXIX (Z). In the northwest, Entrance *d* (298) is flanked by the Entrances *c* (299) and *e* (297), both leading into Room XLIII (E, KK). At the western corner of Court XIX (U), Entrance '*b*' (or '*f*', see 295) leads into the passage Room XLII (N); opposite it, Entrance *j* (274) leads into passage Room XXVIII (FF). Entrance *l* (268) on the southeast side is flanked by Entrances *k* (269) and *m* (267) both leading into Room XXIV (GG). This Court is not described in Layard's notebooks.

According to the numbering on Layard's plan (PLATE 12), slabs only survived in the southwest and southeast. The direction of numbering goes from right to left; this order can also be observed in Rooms III (G, C), VIII (S), XLVII (JJ), and in Court LXIV (EEE); the slabs in the drawings are, however, numbered from left to right. The reliefs illustrated Ashurbanipal's campaigns in Babylonia.¹ Court XIX was:

not quite square, the longest sides, those from west to east, being rather more than 140 feet, and the others 126 feet. It had four grand entrances, formed by colossal human-headed bulls, one on each side. ([Footnote:] That to the east [*a*. 301] has already been described, p. 230. It is to be

observed that neither of these entrances are exactly in the middle of the sides of the hall.)

The sculptures panelling the western wall were for the most part still entire. They recorded, as usual, a campaign and a victory, and were probably but a portion of one continuous subject carried round the entire hall. The conquered country appeared to have been traversed by a great river, the representation of which took up a third of the bas-relief. It was filled with crabs and fish of various kinds, and its banks were wooded with date-bearing palms. On one side of the stream was the king in his chariot, surrounded by his bodyguard and followed by his led horses. On the opposite bank the Assyrian army laid siege to a detached fort, forming an outwork to a city surrounded by high battlemented walls, and defended by lofty towers rising one above the other in stages. Five square gateways opened upon a small stream or canal. The city walls seemed deserted by the inhabitants, but the fort was defended by archers. Drawn up before it were warriors variously armed, and cavalry discharging their arrows without dismounting from their horses. A kneeling Assyrian, protecting himself by a broad wicker shield, was forcing the stones from the lower part of the fortifications with an instrument probably of iron.

When the Assyrian warriors had taken and plundered this city, they brought human heads to the registrars, according to their military laws, to show the numbers of the slain. The spoil, consisting of furniture, arms, and vessels of elegant form, was registered by the scribes, to be divided amongst the victorious troops, whilst the captives were either to be apportioned as slaves, or settled as colonists in some distant part of the dominions of the great king. The women with their children were seen riding in carts drawn by oxen. The dress of the male prisoners consisted of a short tunic encircled at the waist by a broad belt, that of the women of an inner shirt and an outer fringed robe falling to the ankles: the hair of both was confined by a simple band or fillet round the temples. (Layard, 1853a, pp. 438–9)

Layard, 1853a, pp. 342, 438–45; Smith, 1875, pp. 144–6; Paterson, 1915, pp. 7–8; Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 60; Gadd, 1936, pp. 166, 250; Wäfler, 1975, p. 372; Reade, 1979a, p. 88; Russell, 1991, pp. 61–2, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 80.

266 Entrance *n* leading to Room XXIII (OOO); a winged figure facing west and a fish-cloaked figure behind (LN 2E, f. 32v).

267 Entrance *m* leading to Room XXIV (GG); formed by gigantic figures, one of them fish-cloaked (Layard, 1853a, p. 442).

268 Entrance *l* leading to Room XXIV (GG); lined by bull colossi (Layard, 1853a, p. 442).
Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 31, no. 15.

269 Entrance *k* leading to Room XXIV (GG); formed by gigantic figures the second of which is fish-cloaked (LN 2E, f. 33v).

270 Slabs 25 + 24: Not drawn; probably showed a row of Assyrian archers and spearmen advancing towards the right along a row of palm-trees, after the Babylonian campaign.

271–272 Slabs 23 + 22:

Slab 23: A row of spearmen, carrying large, round, convex shields on their backs, are advancing towards the left, along a row of date-palms followed by led horses; a broad river above.

Slab 22: After the battle, horses are led towards the right along a row of palms; a broad river above.

Layard, 1853a, p. 441; Layard, 1853b, pl. 41 (only slab 22); Paterson, 1915, pl. 48 (slab '23', actually 22); Gadd, 1936, pp. 166, 242.

271a–272a Or.Dr. IV, 75; pencil drawings on brownish paper, enhanced with white, signed *A. H. Layard*; 36.8 × 48.6 cm (25.7 cm, 28.6 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Nos. 22 & 23* [corrected from 19 & 20, actually 23 and 22] *Chamber U Kouyunjik*'.

PLATES 189–190

271b A small fragment of slab 23 in Boston, MFA 33.684 (ex 3); previously in the A. Broomhall Willson Collection sold at Sotheby's in 1932; H. 44.5 cm.

Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London, 21 March 1932, lot 55; Smith, 1960, p. 51 ('slab 22'); Terrace, 1960, p. 36, fig. 5; Terrace, 1962, no. 22; Gadd, 1936, pp. 166, 242 ('slab 22'); Reade, 1979a, p. 88 ('slab 24'); Russell, 1991, p. 286 ('slab 22?').

PLATE 189

273 Slabs 21 + 20:

On the south side of the hall, parts of four slabs only had been preserved; the sculpture upon the others had been so completely destroyed, that even the subject could no longer be ascertained. The fragments still remaining, graphically depicted the passage of the river by the great king. His led horses had been partly stripped of their costly furniture, and the grooms were taking them to the water's edge. One horse had already been detached from the royal chariot, and a groom was removing the yoke from the second. A charioteer still held the reins, and an eunuch raised a parasol above the monarch's head. Men were represented making ready the skins probably to form a raft for the king to cross the stream. Some carried such as had already been inflated, others were blowing into those that were still empty, and tying up the orifice after they had been filled. The bas-relief represented very accurately a scene that may be daily witnessed, without the royal warrior, on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates.

Many warriors, supporting their spears and heavy shields on their backs by cords, had already commenced crossing the stream on their skins, and horses led by their grooms were swimming to the opposite bank. ([Footnote:] These interesting bas-reliefs were unfortunately on the raft, which, after my return to Europe, was plundered by the Arabs on its passage to Baghdad.)

Not a fragment of inscription remained to identify the country represented in the bas-reliefs I have just described.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 441)

These slabs were carved in three registers, but of the uppermost only parts of two palms remain at the right edge; the middle register is occupied by a broad river, badly damaged, full of fish and eels, which six Assyrian soldiers together with at least two horses are crossing. The soldiers' straddle large inflated skins which they hold between their legs and grasp with the left hand. Each of them is armed with shield and spear. Below, a row of palm-trees on the riverbank, two led horses and the king in his chariot are followed by a group of soldiers who prepare skins upon which to cross the river.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 41 (extreme right edge omitted); Paterson, 1915, pls 46–7; Gadd, 1936, p. 166; Yadin, 1963, p. 304 (detail); Magen, 1986, p. 169.

273a Or.Dr. IV, 74; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, signed *A. H. Layard*; 35.1 × 64.8 cm; (56.5 cm); scale given: *1-1/2 in = 1 ft.* (1:8); scale also ruled at the bottom.

Annotations in pencil: '*Nos. 20 & 21 Chamber U Kouyunjik*'; 'cut off' written on the top right edge which was omitted in the engraving in Layard, 1853b.

SAA I, fig. 16.

PLATES 191–192

274 Entrance *j* leading to Room XXVIII (FF); formed by colossal figures.

275 Unnumbered slabs forming the southern corner of Court XIX (U).

276 Entrance *i* leading to Room XXIX (Z); formed by colossal figures.

277 Slabs 19 + 18 + edge of 18 + 17: These slabs form the recess to the right of Entrance *i* (276), with slab 19 at right-angles to slab 18, the corner of the buttress (the edge of slab 18) and part of the façade (slab 17), but note that on Layard's plans, PLATES 7 and 12, the slabs are differently divided, leaving the first slab on the façade unnumbered. Only the lower half of the slabs was preserved. About the lower third of the river with fish is shown on the drawing; scribes are standing behind spoil from Babylonia and Assyrian soldiers are putting down the heads of the slain before them; a row of male and female deportees and a cart with four-spoked wheels, drawn by oxen, is led towards the left. Babylonia is characterised by a row of palms.

277a Or.Dr. I, 46; pencil drawing on light brown paper, enhanced with white, signed *F. C. Cooper*; 43.8 × 66.2 cm (46.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Nos. 17. 18. 19.* [actually 19-17] *Chamber U Kouyunjik*'; miscopied in ink: 'V' Because 'U' was wrongly read as 'V', this drawing was placed in the sequence of drawings from Room V (XXXVIII) (see also 279 and 291–294 where the same error occurred). Beneath the pencilled numbers '17.18.19' traces of '12.13.14' can be read but this was probably an early stage in the room numbering and later 14 was assigned to an Entrance figure (279).

PLATES 193, 194, 196

277b Original of slabs 19 + 18 + 18 (edge) + 17 in London, BM WA 124782a–c (51-9-2, 20); gypsum; c. 99 × 288 cm; only small parts of the water above are preserved.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 61–3, nos 15–17; Paterson, 1915, p. 14, pls 94–5 upper; Gadd, 1936, pp. 165–6; Smith, 1938, pp. 19–20, pls XLVII–XLVIII.

PLATES 195, 197

278 Slabs 16 + 15: The partly preserved upper register shows a row of spearmen and other soldiers, probably the king's bodyguard, followed by Ashurbanipal's chariot (the horses' heads and the figure of the king were destroyed) followed by Assyrian soldiers. All are advancing towards the left, on a river bank with palm-trees. In the middle register a broad river full of fish, an eel and two crabs. In the lower register are represented the fortified walls of a city, with turrets and battlements; the outer wall has five gates, within are two buildings, and possibly a

ziggurat; beside this large city is a small town, the wall of which shows smaller turrets and battlements, from which Babylonian archers are discharging arrows at Assyrian warriors who are fighting against them. At the bottom of both slabs a small river with fish is depicted, from the opposite bank of which an Assyrian archer on horseback is discharging an arrow.

Layard, 1853a, p. 438; Layard, 1853b, pl. 43; Paterson, 1915, pls 44–5.

278a Or.Dr. I, 73; unsigned pencil drawing probably by F. C. Cooper on brown paper, enhanced with white; 42.9 × 65.7 cm (44.3 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'Nos. 15 & 16 [actually 16 and 15] Chamber U. Kouyunjik'.

PLATES 198–199

278b Sketch by Malan (f. 54v, no. 186); 18.4 × 12.9 cm.

Annotation in pencil: 'Kouyunjik. June 19th' [1850].

Layard himself is presented in front of his tunnel, with a drawing-board on his knees. See also **463b**.

Gadd, 1938, p. 122 (lower part only, wrongly numbered 184), pl. XIX; Barnett, 1976, text-plate 2; Reade, 1983, p. 9, fig. 4.

PLATE 200

279 Slab 14: Four-winged god with cone and bucket, facing left, flanking Entrance *b* (**280**); comparable to the figure from Forecourt H (3).

279a Or.Dr. I, 47; unsigned pencil drawing on greyish paper, probably by F. C. Cooper; 66 × 43.5 cm (25.1 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 14 Chamber U Kouyunjik'; miscopied in ink 'V' (see **277a**).

PLATE 204

279b Water-colour by Malan (f. 25, no. 108) of slab 14, Entrance *b* (**280**) and slab 12 (**282**); 29.2 × 22.2 cm.

Annotation in pencil: 'Kouyunjik. June 15th' [1850].

Gadd, 1938, p. 212, pl. XVII.

PLATE 201

280 Entrance *b* leading into Room XXIX (Z); lined by colossal bulls 'of fossiliferous limestone'. This entrance appears on two of Malan's water-colours (**279b** and **281a**).

Layard, 1853a, p. 445; Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 31, no. 14.

281 Slab 13: Not drawn; the same type of figure as **279**, flanking Entrance *b*, but facing right.

281a Water-colour by Malan (f. 26, no. 109) of Entrance *b* (**280**) with **281** beyond.

Annotation in pencil: 'Kouyunjik. June 20th' [1850].

PLATE 202

282–283 Slabs 12 + 11:

Next came the siege and capture of a city standing on the opposite bank of the same great river, and surrounded by a ditch edged with lofty reeds. The Assyrian footmen and cavalry had already crossed this dike,

and were closely pressing the besieged, who, no longer seeking to defend themselves, were asking for quarter. A warrior, covering himself with his large circular shield, was attempting to set fire to one of the gates with a torch. Part of the city had already been taken, and the conquerors were driving away captives and cattle. Carts drawn by oxen were laden with furniture and large metal vessels. On the other side of the river, Sennacherib [Ashurbanipal] in his gorgeous war chariot, and surrounded by his guards, received the captives and the spoil. It is remarkable that this was almost the only figure of the king which had not been wantonly mutilated, probably by those who overthrew the Assyrian empire, burned its palaces, and levelled its cities with the dust.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 439)

On the upper register of slab 12 is represented a moat communicating with the river in the middle register, and the attack on a double-walled Babylonian city on the river bank; at the right, a cart with four-spoked wheels drawn by oxen, and a row of deportees, are advancing towards the right. The stream is shown full of fish, crabs and eels. In the lower register, led horses, Ashurbanipal's bodyguard, the king in his chariot under a sunshade, and a row of soldiers in a palm grove, are shown facing right, behind two scribes, who are registering the captives and spoil displayed on the following slab 10 (**284**).

Layard, 1853a, pp. 438–9; Layard, 1853b, pl. 42; Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, pp. 462–5, fig. 211 (detail of slab 12); Frankfort, 1954, p. 95, pl. 102A; Nagel, 1967, p. 36, pl. 13:2; Magen, 1986, p. 168.

282a–283a Or.Dr. I, 72; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 43.4 × 67.1 cm (48.9 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 11. 12. [actually 12 and 11] Chamber U. Kouyunjik'.

Gadd, 1936, pl. 13; Russell, 1991, pp. 144–5, fig. 75.

PLATES 206, 208

282b–283b Originals in London, BM WA 124825a + b (51-9-2, 1); gypsum; slab 12: 20.4 × 318.7 cm; slab 11: 232.4 × 186.3 cm.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 107–11, nos 57–8; Paterson, 1915, pls 40–1, 42 (detail of slab 12); Gadd, 1936, p. 172; Hall, 1928, pl. XXIX (detail of slab 12); Müller, 1928–9, pl. XIX:1 (detail of slab 12); Meissner, 1920a, Abb. 37 (detail of slab 12); Gadd, 1936, p. 172; Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, pl. 65 (detail of slab 12); Reade, 1980, p. 74, pl. 8b (detail of slab 12).

PLATES 207, 209, (details) 189, 190, 191, 194, 200, 201, 205, 207, 212, 213, 218

282c Water-colour by Malan (f. 46, no. 159) of details from the upper register of slab 12 (left) and the bottom register of slab 10 (right, **284**), separated by a zigzag line; 12.4 × 18 cm.

Annotation in pencil: 'Kouyunjik. June 20th' [1850]. (Below is a landscape numbered 160 and labelled *near Fyndyk*.) Slab 12 also appears on the right of another water-colour by Malan (see **279b**).

PLATE 203

283c Water-colour by Malan (f. 49, no. 166) of slab 11; 18.2 × 26.5 cm.

Annotation in pencil: 'Kouyunjik. June 10th' [1850].

PLATE 203

284–285 Slabs 10 + 9: Slab 10 is completely preserved but slab 9 is fragmentary. In the upper register a row of deportees with cattle is led towards the right, the middle register is occupied by the broad river full of fish, crabs and eels, while in the lower register spoil and heads of the slain are piled in a heap, and a row of captives is advancing towards the left through palm groves. A detail of the lower register of slab 10 (**284**) appears on one of Malan's water-colours (see **282c**, right).

284a–285a Or.Dr. IV, 73; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper; 37.4 × 53.3 cm (39.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 9. 10 [actually 10 and 9] Chamber U. Kouyunjik'.

Gadd, 1936, pl. 14; Smith, 1960, p. 47, fig. 4 top; Porada, 1989, pl. 41. PLATES 210, 212

284b Original of slab 10 in London, BM WA 124825c (51-9-2, 1); 232.4 × 204.4 cm.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 107–11, no. 59; Paterson, 1915, pl. 43; Gadd, 1936, p. 172; Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, pls 68 and 69 (details of slab 10 wrongly attributed to Room XXVIII).

PLATES 211, (details) 197, 213, 221

285b Fragment of the lower register of slab 9 in Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 950.86; acquired from Spink and Son and said to have come from A. H. Layard's private collection; 60.9 × 32.4 × 9.5 cm.

Two female deportees, mounted on a donkey driven by a Babylonian captive carrying a child on his shoulder, are advancing towards the left; a date-palm in the background.

The Connoisseur, December 1949, Spink and Son advertisement on last page before text; Anonymous, 1955, p. 80; Porada, 1989, pp. 238–41, pl. 40.

PLATE 213

285–288 Slabs 9 (edge) + 8 (corner) + 7 + 6: Only a small part of the upper register with a single deportee is preserved; the larger part of the middle register survives showing a broad stream with fish and other water creatures; in the lower register a row of male and female deportees, a cart with four-spoked wheels drawn by oxen, and another cart of the same type, advancing towards the left along a row of palm-trees.

285c, 286a–288a Or.Dr. IV, 72; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 33.9 × 59.4 cm (47.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 6. 7. 8 [actually 9 (edge) to 6] Chamber U. Kouyunjik'.

Smith, 1960, p. 47, fig. 4 middle.

PLATES 214, 216

286b Fragment of the lower register of slab 8 in London, BM WA 132814 (1960-2-16, 1); ex Canford School purchased with the aid of the Isaac Wolfson Foundation; 82.5 × 67.3 cm.

There remain three Babylonian captives, followed by an Assyrian archer, heads and forelegs of oxen, date-palms, and traces of water above.

Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London 16 November 1959, lot 54; *Illustrated London News*, 7 November 1959, p. 601; *The Times*, 7 November 1959, p. 8, col. 5; Barnett, 1962–3, p. 93, pl. XXXVIII; Weidner, 1966, p. 123.

PLATE 215

289 Entrance *g* leading into Room XXIX (Z); formed by colossal figures.

290 Slab 5: Not drawn, probably destroyed.

291–294 Slabs 4 + 3 + 2 + 1: The left part of slab 4 is almost entirely destroyed, apart from a date-palm and water above. About half of the middle register remains, a river with fish and other water creatures; in the lower register, a row of male and female deportees with bullock-drawn carts and cattle is led towards the left by Assyrian soldiers, along a row of date-palms.

291a–294a Or.Dr. I, 39; unsigned pencil drawing on greenish brown paper, enhanced with white; 43.1 × 66.9 cm (64.4 cm); scale given: '1 inch 7/16th to a foot' (1:8.3).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 1. 2. 3 & 4. [actually 4-1] Ch: U Kouyunjik'; miscopied in ink: 'V' (see 277a).

Smith, 1960, p. 47, fig. 4 bottom.

PLATES 217, 218, 220

292b Fragment of slab 3 in Boston, MFA 60.133; Charles Amos Cummings Bequest and gift of Horace L. Mayer; ex Canford School; 63.5 × 83.8 cm.

Babylonian women are advancing towards the left along a row of palm-trees; one of them is giving a drink to her child, from a water-skin. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London 16 November 1959, lot 53; *Illustrated London News*, 7 November 1959, p. 601; *The Times*, 17 November 1959, p. 8, col. 5; Smith, 1960, p. 44, fig. 1; Weidner, 1959–60, p. 191; Terrace, 1962, no. 24.

PLATE 219

295 Entrance *b* (should be *f*) leading into Room XLII (N); lined with colossal figures, not winged, facing into Court XIX (U) (LN 2C, f. 9r).

296 Slabs indicated on the plan but not numbered or drawn.

297 Entrance *e* leading into Room XLIII (KK); probably unexcavated.

298 Entrance *d* leading into Room XLIII (KK); probably unexcavated; probably flanked by bull-colossi.

Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 31, no. 13.

299 Entrance *c* leading into Room XLIII (E); probably largely unexcavated.

300 Entrance *b* leading into Room XX; probably unexcavated.

301 Entrance *a* leading into Room XXII (XX); 'A pair of colossal human-headed lions, carved in coarse limestone' but badly damaged. Layard, 1853a, p. 230; Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 31, no. 12.

Fragments possibly belonging to Court XIX (U):

302 Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery A. 99'60; ex Collection Julia du Cane; 29.2 × 46.9 cm.

An Assyrian spearman with a round-topped, convex shield is attacking towards the left beside a water course and a row of reeds; behind him at the right edge is the head of a horse. As each stem of reed grass usually shows blossoms at the top, the spearman and the horse were probably recarved under Ashurbanipal.

Weidner, 1959–60, p. 192; Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London 11 April 1960, p. 15 (frontispiece), lot 72; T. Mullaly, *Daily Telegraph*, 12 April 1960, p. 14, cols. 4–6; Weidner, 1959–60, p. 192; Reade, 1972, p. 110, pl. XXXVIIb.

PLATE 221

303 Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum, Burrell Collection 28.33; 18.2 × 15 × 1.6 cm.

Two scribes, one beardless and the other bearded, facing right, both holding a writing-board in their left hand, and a wide, flat-edged stylus in their raised right hand, are standing to the left of a palm-tree, the fronds of which are partly erased. This slab may, alternatively, come from Ashurbanipal's North Palace.³

Weidner, 1945–51, pp. 137–8, fig. 1; Hannah, 1949, p. 10; Wiseman, 1955, p. 12, n. 116; Vogel, 1959, cover; Hrouda, 1965, pl. 57:4; Marks *et al.*, 1983, p. 29, fig. 5; Albenda, 1986, p. 116; Reade, 1979b, fig. 11; Peltenburg, 1991, no. 47.

PLATE 222

304 Vatican 14982 (ex 4); 36 × 29 cm.

Two deported women, probably from Babylonia, facing right, one carrying her child on her shoulder, the other a heavy load on top of her head.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 30–1, Abb. 31.

PLATE 222

Notes

- 1 On which see Grayson, 1981, pp. 227–45. Sennacherib's sculptures were obliterated and replaced by carvings in the time of Ashurbanipal. Reade (1979a, p. 110), proposes the ascription of these sculptures of Court XIX to Sin-shar-ishkun rather than to Ashurbanipal (cf. Magen, 1986, pp. 168–9). Sin-shar-ishkun (621 or 619–612 BC) was successful against the Babylonians at the beginning of his reign, but we do not know anything about his occupation or redecoration of Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh. As the style of the sculptures of Court XIX and Room XXVIII seems to be earlier than that of the North Palace at Nineveh, these sculptures should be attributed rather to Ashurbanipal than to a later king.
- 2 The advanced technique of swimming across a river with military equipment, as noted by Albenda (1986, p. 99), is not found on Sennacherib's reliefs, but does occur in the time of Ashurbanipal (see also Room XXXI).
- 3 Both the scribes, unusually, are represented with writing boards, on which see Wiseman, 1955, pp. 3–13; Howard, 1955, pp. 14–20; and Driver, 1976, pp. 225–7. A closely comparable pair of scribes is represented in the North Palace on slab 3 of Room F (Barnett, 1976, p. 40, pl. XVII).

ROOM XX

Entrance *a* (**265**) leads from the hypothetical passage XVIII into Room XX. Either the walls of this room were not excavated, or they seem not to have been lined with slabs. Entrance *b* (**300**) leads into the large inner Court XIX (U). This room is mentioned neither in Layard's publications nor in his notebooks. It thus remains hypothetical (see Chapter 3).

Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 62, 341.

305 Entrance *c* leading into Room XXI.

ROOM XXI

The only entrance into Room XXI is Entrance *c* (**305**) from Room XX. Either the walls of this room were not excavated, or they seem not to have been lined with slabs. Like Room XX this room is nowhere mentioned by Layard; it therefore remains hypothetical.

Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 62, 341.

ROOM XXII (XX) (PLATES 223–231)

Entrance *a* (**301**) from the inner Court XIX (U) led into Room XXII (XX). Only three drawings are attributed to this room, two of which (**307** and **312**) have details and a style which show the slabs to have been carved under Ashurbanipal, while the slabs of the third drawing (**309–310**) were certainly made under Sennacherib. This curious coincidence of two different styles of different periods can be explained by Layard's footnote (1853a, pp. 230–1): 'Some of the slabs had been originally sculptured on the face now turned to the wall of sundried bricks, but they had not, I think, been brought from any other building. . . and the opposite face [was] carved afresh.' Other slabs to be attributed to Ashurbanipal are **313–318** and perhaps **319** though a possible attribution of the latter to Esarhaddon has been suggested.

Unfortunately the bas-reliefs were equally mutilated, four slabs only retaining any traces of sculpture. One of them [slab 10, **312**] represented Assyrian warriors leading captives, who differed in costume from any other conquered people hitherto found on the walls of the palaces. Their head-dress consisted of high feathers, forming a kind of tiara like that of an Indian chief,¹ and they wore a robe confined at the waist, by an ornamented girdle. Some of them carried an object resembling a torch. Amongst the enemies of the Egyptians represented on their monuments is a tribe similarly attired.

On a second slab, preserved in this chamber [slab 8, **309**], was represented a double-walled city with arched gateways, and inclined approaches leading to them from the outer walls. Within were warriors with horses; outside the fortifications was a narrow stream or canal, planted on both sides with trees, and flowing into a broad river, on which were large boats, holding several persons, and a raft of skins, bearing a man fishing, and two others seated before a pot or caldron. Along the banks, and apparently washed by the stream, was a wall with equidistant towers and battlements. On another part of the same river were men

ferrying horses across the river in boats, whilst others were swimming over on inflated skins [slabs 2–3, 307]. The water swarmed with fish and crabs. Gardens and orchards, with various kinds of trees, appeared to be watered by canals similar to those which once spread fertility over the plains of Babylonia, and of which the choked-up beds still remain. A man, suspended by a rope, was being lowered into the water [slab 3, 307]. Upon the corner of a slab almost destroyed [slab 4, 307], was a hanging garden, supported upon columns, whose capitals were not unlike those of the Corinthian order. This representation of ornamental gardens was highly curious. It is much to be regretted that the bas-reliefs had sustained too much injury to be restored or removed.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 230–3)

Paterson, 1915, p. 8; Wäfler, 1975, p. 369; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 62, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 83.

306 Slab 1: Too damaged to be drawn.

307 Slabs 2, 3 + part of 4 (corner): Only the left part of slab 2 was drawn, which does not, therefore, show the join with slab 3. It seems to be tripartite, closely comparable with the scenes on the slabs of Court XIX (U). The upper register of slab 2 seems to have been too badly damaged to be drawn; the middle register is occupied by a broad river with two riverboats and four men swimming with the help of inflated animal skins. The lower register shows deciduous trees and a row of Assyrian soldiers marching towards the left. Three of them carry their rectangular shields with rounded tops on their backs, a detail which does not occur until the time of Ashurbanipal.² The upper part of slab 3 seems to have shown a wooded landscape; at the left the river continued, with a boat and men swimming with inflated animal skins; the right half shows a landscape with gardens and orchards irrigated by several canals, and at the bottom a river with fish.³ Slab 4 (corner) was only partly drawn, and only the top of it was preserved, showing a row of fir or pine trees alternating with small pomegranate(?) trees, below which part of a building with columns was preserved.⁴

Layard, 1853a, p. 232 (woodcut by George S[charff]); Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, p. 445, fig. 198 (detail of slab 4); Paterson, 1915, p. 8, pl. 49 lower right; Hrouda, 1965, pl. 53a; De Graeve, 1981, p. 49, pl. XXI, no. 53.

307a Or.Dr. IV, 77; unsigned pencil drawing on greenish brown paper, enhanced with white; 36.8 × 60.3 cm; (slab 2: 11.9 cm; slab 3: 29.2 cm; slab 4: 3.9 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Nos. 2, 3 & part of 4 Chamber XX – Kouyunjik*'. Russell, 1991, pp. 146–7, fig. 76; SAA V, fig. 32.

PLATES 224–225

308 Slabs 5 + 6 + 7: Not drawn; these slabs may have been turned around for recarving.

309–310 Slabs 8, 9: Two non-joining slabs.

Slab 8: A double-walled rectangular city with two rows of horses and grooms inside. On the broad river at the bottom is shown a raft supported by inflated animal skins, and a boat with high upturned ends. A small tributary has trees on both banks; a broad tributary, or a canal, the bank of which is fortified by a wall with turrets and battlements, runs up the right edge.⁵

Layard, 1853a, p. 231 (unsigned woodcut); Paterson, 1915, p. 8, pl. 49 lower left; De Graeve, 1981, pp. 47–8, pl. XVIII, no. 49.

Slab 9: Wooded mountainous country with three male deportees advancing towards the right; the upper left corner probably shows a table and a figure sitting on a stool(?).

309a–310a Or.Dr. IV, 78; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on greenish brown paper, enhanced with white; 34.3 × 53.7 cm (slab 8: 21.2 cm; slab 9: 17.5 cm); scale: 1 in 3/4 to a foot (1:6.8).

Annotation in pencil: '*Nos. 8, 9 Chamber XX Kouyunjik*'.

The reason that the artist (possibly Layard) put these fragments together on a single drawing might have been that they were found side by side, prepared for recarving.

SAA I, fig. 13; SAA V, fig. 29.

PLATES 226–227

311 Entrance *b*, in the southeast corner of the room, leading into an unexcavated, entirely destroyed area of the palace, the southeastern part of which is marked in Layard's unpublished plan (PLATE 7) as NNN.

312 Slab 10: The two lower registers of the slab remained only in part; of the upper, only the legs of a camel and an Assyrian soldier were preserved; the lower register shows archers and spearmen, some of them wearing a 'feathered head-dress', advancing towards the left; one figure in a long robe is carrying a torch(?); a celebration after the battle is probably shown.

Layard, 1853a, p. 230 (detail); Layard, 1853b, pl. 44; Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, p. 521, fig. 238; Paterson, 1915, pl. 49 upper; Hrouda, 1965, p. 51; Barnett, 1967, pp. 2997–3007; Calmeyer, 1970, p. 190, no. 5, fig. 4.

312a Or.Dr. II, 1; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, on brownish paper; 42.6 × 66.4 cm (48.9 cm); scale given: *Scale of 3 inches to a foot* (1:4).

Annotation in pencil: '*No 10 Chamber XX Kouyunjik*'.

PLATE 228

313 Slab (?): Possibly found in this room. Two registers of a slab, the upper representing four soldiers advancing towards the right behind conifers; in the lower, Assyrian soldiers on horseback, armed with spears, face right.

313a Or.Dr. V, 54; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, probably by C. D. Hodder; 44.5 × 33 cm (21.2 cm).

Annotations in pencil: '*Fragment of Sculpture discovered during the month of October 1853, Kouyunjik*'; initials 'WB' or 'MB' crossed out (see 369b note).

PLATE 229

313b Original in London, BM WA 135108 (95-5-14, 12); gypsum; 73 × 59 cm.

Barnett, 1976, p. 61, pl. LXX (f).⁶

PLATE 229

Fragments possibly coming from this room:⁷

314 London, BM WAAOC 41; 14 × 14 cm; reported missing in April 1961. Bearded head with round cap appearing from behind conifers. Weidner, 1963, pp. 199–200, fig. 15.

PLATE 230

315 Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum, Burrell Collection 28.77; acquired from F. Partridge and Son, 1956; 11 × 26 × 1.7 cm. Upper parts of two Assyrian mounted archers, one with a spear, and the head of a horse; closely comparable to **313**.

Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London 16 January 1956, lot 91; Wells, 1958, p. 438, no. 3; Reade, 1972, p. 111, pl. XLa; Barnett, 1976, pl. LXXI (r); Peltenburg, 1991, no. 53.

PLATE 230

316 Paris, Louvre AO 19.920 (ex 81); 20 × 21 cm.

Three Assyrian spearmen with round-topped wicker-work shields climb a ladder; the city is defended from the top of the wall, but only arms and bows of two archers discharging their arrows survive. The slab from which this fragment comes was certainly carved in Ashurbanipal's reign, as the shape of the shields shows.

Portier, 1917, p. 105.

PLATE 230

317 Seattle Art Museum 46.50; donated by Hagop Kevorkian; 35.6 × 39.4 × 2.5 cm.

Four auxiliary spearmen marching towards the right, carrying round-topped wicker-work shields on their backs; traces of a fifth soldier at the right edge.

PLATE 230

318 Venice, Museo Archeologico Civico, Deposito Correr 44; from Layard's collection; see the information preceding **17**: 43.8 × 41.9 cm. Fragment from the top(?) of a slab showing Assyrian archers and a spearman with a round shield advancing along the saddle between two hills covered with trees.

Falkner, 1952–3, pp. 32–3, fig. 8; Barnett, 1976, p. 46, pl. XXXIV (b).

PLATE 231

319 Venice, Museo Archeologico Civico, Deposito Correr 46 (ex no. 3); from Layard's collection; see the information preceding **17**: 47 × 31.1 × 8.5 cm.

Fragment showing parts of two registers with a battle scene: a spearman with a round shield and an archer with the head of an enemy advance towards the left, behind a chariot of which only a wheel is partly preserved; below, two Assyrian cavalymen carrying spears ride towards the right. The different style and rounded shapes might support the attribution to the reign of Esarhaddon suggested by Reade.

Falkner, 1952–3, pp. 28–30, Abb. 4; Reade, 1972, p. 111–12, pl. XLb.

PLATE 231

Notes

¹ Not all the fragments showing soldiers with feathered head-dresses are necessarily to be attributed to the North Palace (Barnett, 1976, pl. LXII)

where the slabs are carved from different materials. Those of fossiliferous limestone – the same material as used, for example, for slabs 1–6 (**381–386**) in Room XXXIII (BB) – most probably come from the Southwest Palace.

² Hrouda, 1965, p. 90; Reade, 1979a, p. 110.

³ This is reminiscent of Hinis-Bavian and the River Gomel.

⁴ This interesting detail deserves more consideration. It was not known by Betancourt (1977), but similar capitals are discussed by him on p. 61, fig. 21.

⁵ A close parallel can be found in the North Palace; cf. Barnett, 1976, pl. XXIII.

⁶ This fragment cannot have come from the North Palace as Barnett suggested, because it was found in October 1853 and Rassam did not begin excavating there until December 1853 (Rassam, 1897, p. 24).

⁷ The fragments in Paris (**316**) and Seattle (**317**) may well belong to another room. There is no distinctive feature to necessitate their attribution to this room, but they certainly come from a room redecorated under Ashurbanipal.

ROOM XXIII (OOO)

The only entrance leading into this hypothetical room is Entrance *n* (**266**) from Court XIX (U). Layard in his notebook (*LN* 2E, f. 32v) only mentions the entrance figures. Nothing is recorded of any other slabs in this room, and Layard's plans (PLATES 7 and 12) suggest that it was only partially excavated.

Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 32v; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 62, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 84.

ROOM XXIV (GG) (PLATE 232)

This room seems to have been part of an important suite opening off Court XIX (U) through Entrances *k* (**269**), *l* (**268**) and *m* (**267**); it has a relatively wide entrance on the southwest side, Entrance *a* (**332**), leading into Room XXV (HH), and at the opposite end a corresponding Entrance *e* (**323**) into Room XXVI (MMM); it has a very wide Entrance *c* (**328**) on its southeast side leading into Room XXVII (LLL), which is flanked by two side-entrances, *b* (**331**) and *d* (**326**). In Layard's plan (PLATE 12) most of the walls of this room are shown bearing slabs, but only slabs 1 + 2 on the northeast side were numbered; fire had destroyed most of the sculptures.

In the south side of the hall [Court XIX (U)] a centre portal flanked by winged bulls, and two small entrances, formed by gigantic figures [Entrances *l*, *k* and *m*, **268**, **269** and **267**], opened into a long chamber ([Footnote:] No. XXIV, 98 by 27 feet), whose sculptured walls had been burnt to lime. On the calcined slabs, however, could still be traced Assyrian warriors mounting by ladders to the assault of besieged cities, battering-rams, long lines of archers, slingers, and spearmen, a sea with double-banked galleys similar to those frequently described, and a fortified camp, containing pavilions and tents, in which were men engaged in various domestic occupations. The king, as usual, superintended the operations from his chariot. To judge from the fragments that remained of this series of sculptures, the most skilful artist of the day must have been

employed in its execution. At both ends of the chamber, doors, guarded by colossal figures, led into smaller apartments, in which the bas-reliefs had been almost entirely destroyed.
(Layard, 1853a, p. 442)

Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 33v–r; Paterson, 1915, p. 8; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 62, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 81.

[269] Entrance *k* leading into Court XIX (U).

320 Slabs between Entrances *k* and *l*: Siege of a city, with ladders, slingers and archers. A fragmentary slab in Paris (91) could perhaps belong here.

[268] Entrance *l* leading into Court XIX (U).

321 Slabs between Entrances *l* and *m*: Siege of castle with battering rams.

[267] Entrance *m* leading into Court XIX (U).

322 Slabs in north corner of room, between Entrances *m* and *e* (267, 323): Ships.

323 Entrance *e* leading into Room XXVI (MMM); formed by colossal figures facing into Room XXIV (GG), the first winged and the second lion-legged (see 231) (*LN* 2E, ff. 33r–32v).

324 Slabs 1 + 2: Both slabs were to have been drawn (*LN* 2E, ff. 33v–33r) but only one drawing can be assigned to this room (329). Either these two drawings are lost or they are wrongly designated. They depicted the interior of a camp with 'horses feeding sheep reposing – Men making beds on ground – mules – bulls masses of corn – water beneath castle'.

325 Slab(s) between the east corner and Entrance *d*: Led horses.

326 Entrance *d* leading into Room XXVII (LLL); two figures facing into Room XXIV (GG), the first fish-cloaked and the second lion-legged. Layard (*LN* 2E, f. 33r) goes on to describe slabs 'behind' this entrance as depicting 'prisoners women &c'; these would have been in Room XXVII (LLL), in the recesses on either side of the entrance (confirmed by Russell's transcript of Add.MS. 39077: Russell, 1995, p. 81).

327 Slabs between Entrances *d* and *c*: The king in his chariot, preceded by soldiers.

328 Entrance *c* leading into Room XXVII (LLL); lined with lion-colossi.
Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 29, 31, no. 16; in connection with Room LLL, Russell (1995, p. 84) states that this entrance was also decorated with a 'fish-god' but this is, in fact, Entrance *d* (326).

329 Pavement slab in Entrance *c*: 'Carpet' design.

Layard, 1853a, p. 442; Layard, 1853b, pl. 56 left; Paterson, 1915, pl. 50; Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, p. 316, fig. 131; Albenda, 1978, p. 15, pl. 14.

329a Or.Dr. I, 52; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 43.2 × 35.5 cm (35.5 cm). Annotation in pencil: 'Pavement slab between Lions' *Ch* – *Kouyunjik*'. A pencil scale numbered 1 to 12 measures 8.9 cm. Corner detail of a 'carpet'-slab which shows a design of lotus flowers and cones in squares surrounded by a zigzag and rows of daisy-like flowers with a lotus-cone garland as a border.

PLATE 232

330 A slab is indicated to the right of entrance *c* (328) but not described.

No other slabs are indicated or described in the south corner of the room.

331 Entrance *b* leading into Room XXVII (LLL); guarded by colossal figures (Layard, 1853a, p. 442).

332 Entrance *a* leading into Room XXV (HH); lined with colossal figures.

333 Slabs in west corner of room and in recesses of Entrance *k* (269): Lines of Assyrians leading horses.

ROOM XXV (HH)

This room is not mentioned in Layard's notebooks; in *Nineveh and Babylon*, however, he describes the reliefs as having been almost entirely destroyed; in his plans (PLATES 7 and 12) the walls of the southwest and northwest sides are shown as lined with slabs, but were left unnumbered, and the remaining walls seem not to have been excavated. The only doorway into this room is Entrance *a* (332) from Room XXIV (GG).

Layard, 1853a, p. 442; Paterson, 1915, p. 8; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 62–3, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 81 (entry left blank by Layard).

ROOM XXVI (MMM)

At the northeast end of Room XXIV (GG) Entrance *e* (323) leads into Room XXVI (MMM). As the room was situated at the edge of the mound, its southern end was eroded away.

Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 32v; Layard, 1853a, p. 442; Paterson, 1915, p. 8; Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 60; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 62–3, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 84.

334 The reliefs in this room were almost entirely destroyed; according to Layard's notebook, led horses and prisoners were represented on the northwest wall, and the siege of a city on the northeast wall.

335 Entrance *f* leading into unexcavated area NNN (PLATE 7) which has no Roman numeral in Layard's published plan (PLATE 11).

ROOM XXVII (LLL)

The exceptionally wide Entrance *c* (328) formed by human-headed lion colossi, leading from Room XXIV (GG) into this room, was flanked by Entrances *b* (331) and *d* (326); opposite Entrance *c*, a doorway (337) formed by colossi led into an unnumbered, entirely destroyed area on the slopes of the mound of Kuyunjik, designated by Paterson 'South-East-Façade' in his restored groundplan, and by Turner (in Chapter 3), 'Southeast Terrace Platform'.

Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 33–32v; Layard, 1853a, p. 442; Paterson, 1915, p. 8; Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 60; Wäfler, 1975, p. 369; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 62–3, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 84.

336 Some slabs are shown in Layard's plan (PLATE 11) on the northwest and northeast sides, but none is numbered. According to Layard's notebook, soldiers were represented in wooded mountainous country, bringing heads of slain enemies to the scribes, and leading captives by the beard. A river and mountains with trees were shown at the bottom.

337 Doorway opposite Entrance *c* leading onto an unnumbered, entirely destroyed area on the slopes of the mound of Kuyunjik; formed by colossi. Turner (Chapter 3) has suggested that this was the central one of three entrances leading to a further room or range of rooms, now completely eroded away.

Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 29, 31, no. 17.

338 Entrance into an unnumbered room which Turner (Chapter 3) and Galter, Levine & Reade (1986, p. 29) restore as part of Room XXV (HH).

ROOM XXVIII (FF) (PLATES 233–265)

Room XXVIII (FF) seems to have been a relatively narrow passage between Court XIX (U) and an almost entirely destroyed part of the Palace, the 'South-East-Façade' of Paterson's plan. Entrance *j* (274) from Court XIX (U) led into this passage. What Layard in his notebook describes as being 'Room FF' does not agree with his description in *Nineveh and Babylon* which is followed here, nor does it agree with the drawings; it is, in fact, Room XXXI (DD) and the mistake was corrected in Layard's transcription of his notes (Russell, 1995, p. 81). The adjacent Room XXXIII was redecorated with reliefs after Sennacherib's reign and although no inscriptions survived on any of the slabs in Room XXVIII, the dating of the reliefs to Ashurbanipal's reign seems very likely. Nagel attributes these reliefs on stylistic grounds to the late years

of Ashurbanipal, i.e. to the same period as those in Ashurbanipal's North Palace.¹

Returning to the great hall we found an entrance formed by colossal figures leading into a long narrow chamber, about 70 feet by 12, whose walls had partly escaped the general wreck. It appeared to be the remains of an entrance into the palace, like that on the western face, or a gallery leading to the outer terrace, which probably surrounded the building. On its alabaster panels were sculptured the conquest of some of those tribes which inhabited, from the remotest period, the vast marshes formed by the Euphrates and Tigris in Chaldaea and Babylonia. The swamps of Lemlun are still spread over this low land, and are the place of refuge of a wild and barbarous race of Arabs, not improbably, as I have already observed, the descendants of the very people represented in the bas-reliefs of Kouyunjik. . . . Unfortunately there were no remains of epigraphs or other inscriptions on the bas-reliefs. . . .

In these bas-reliefs the swamps with the jungles of lofty reeds, the narrow passages cut through them like streets, and the shallow stagnant water abounding in fish, were faithfully, though rudely, portrayed. Men and women, seated on rafts, were hiding themselves in the thick brakes, whilst the Assyrian warriors followed the fugitives in light boats of wicker work, probably taken from the enemy, and such as are used to this day by the inhabitants of the same marshes. Some had overtaken and were killing their victims. Others were returning to the banks with captives, and with the heads of the slain. In the water were the bodies of the dead already food for the fishes. The fighting men of the conquered tribes were armed with bows, and wore short tunics; the women had long fringed robes; the hair of both was confined round the temples by a fillet. This dress appears from the sculptures to have been common to all the nations inhabiting the country watered by the lower part of the Euphrates and Tigris.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 442–3)

Layard, *LN* 2C, ff. 11v–12r; Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 50–8, nos 4–8; Paterson, 1915, p. 8; Gadd, 1936, p. 250; Nagel, 1967, pp. 18–39; Wäfler, 1975, p. 372; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 63, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 81.

339 Slab 1: Not drawn; probably a small corner slab representing the reeds and water found on the succeeding slabs.

340 Slabs 2 + 3: These slabs represent a battle in the marshes of southern Babylonia.² Roughly the upper third is missing; above, Assyrian soldiers in reed boats are discharging arrows towards the left; below, prisoners are being transported to the palm groves in boats made of reed bundles tied together. Groups of marsh dwellers are hiding in the reed beds, and press down the reeds under their weight; at the bottom, water with fish.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 25 (slabs 2 + 3 + 4a); Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, p. 633, fig. 309 (detail); Paterson, 1915, pl. 51 (2 + 3 + 4a); Müller, 1928–9, p. 205, fig. 4 (2 + 3 + 4a); Porada, 1945, pp. 156–7; Frankfort, 1954, p. 94, pl. 99 (2 + 3 + 4a); De Graeve, 1981, pp. 53–4, pl. XXVII, no. 60 (2 + 3 + 4a).

340a Or.Dr. IV, 34; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, signed *A. H. Layard*; 31.7 × 56.5 cm (43.8 cm); scale given: 1-1/2 in. = 1 ft. (1:8).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 2. 3. Chamber FF Kouyunjik'.

PLATES 234, 236

340b Original in London, BM WA 124774a + b (51-9-2, 22); slab 2: 146.7 × 121.2 cm; slab 3: 146 × 227 cm; gypsum.

Gadd, 1936, p. 164; Smith, 1938, p. 19, pls XLIX–LII; Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, pls 70–1 (details); Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980, pp. 79–81, no. 29a–c (details); Nagel, 1967, pl. 17 (slab 3); Reade, 1983, p. 41, fig. 59 (detail).

PLATES 235, 237, (details) 234, 235, 238, 239

341 Slabs 4 + 5: Only the two lower registers survive, showing rows of captives advancing towards the right along a row of palm-trees.

Layard, 1853b, pls 25 (NB the left part of 4 was included with 2 and 3) and 26; Paterson, 1915, pl. 52 (left); Gadd, 1936, p. 164.

341a Or.Dr. IV, 35; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, signed *A. H. Layard*; 33.6 × 58.5 cm (40.6 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 4 & 5 Chamber FF Kouyunjik'.

PLATES 240, 242

341b Original in London BM WA 124774c + d (51-9-2, 22); slab 4: 137.2 × 218.4 cm; slab 5: 142.2 × 170.1 cm; gypsum.

Smith, 1938, pls LIII–LIV.

PLATES 241, 243, (details) 242, 243, 265

342 Slabs 6 + 6a: In the partly preserved upper register Assyrian soldiers pile the heads of the slain before scribes, behind whom are soldiers with round shields; in the middle of the lower register there are also scribes receiving a row of captives and cattle, and behind them are spearmen with round shields. There are rows of palms in each register and, below, a small river with fish. There is a fragmentary slab on the right, here called 6a.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 26 (right); Paterson, 1915, pl. 52 (right); Driver, 1976, pl. 24, pp. 17, 20, 22–3.

342a Or.Dr. IV, 36; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, signed *A. H. Layard*; size of paper: 33.6 × 56.8 cm (34.7 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'No 6 Chamber FF Kouyunjik'; 'cut off' and a cross and line roughly drawn indicate where the relief was cut for transport of the left half to London (see **342b**); 'II. 3 Drawing 2 Plates' (referring to the splitting of the drawings in Layard, 1853b).

PLATE 244

342b Original of the left half of the lower register of slab 6 in London, BM WA 124774e (51-9-2, 22); 96.5 × 154.9 cm; gypsum.

Smith, 1938, pl. LV.

PLATES 245, (detail) 243

343 Doorway at the southeastern end of Room XXVIII (FF) leading onto the Southeast Terrace Platform LX (W/W) (see Chapter 3). Layard has drawn it as wide as the passage, with colossi at its entrance, but it is not indicated by Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 29.

344–346 Slabs 7 + 8 + 9: On slabs 8 and 9 the lower parts of an upper register survive; male and female captives are led towards the right and there is a flock of sheep and goats as well as cattle; in the middle

register of slabs 7–9 a bullock-drawn, heavily loaded cart and a row of captives are led to scribes – the nearer with a scroll and his companion with hinged writing boards; below, there are sheep and humped bulls, a woman and a child riding on the back of a donkey, and Assyrian soldiers urging on captives carrying heavy goods who are marching towards the right. In each register a row of palms indicates the country.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 35; Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, pp. 111, 543, figs 30, 253 (details of 7 + 8); Gadd, 1936, p. 175; Pritchard, 1969a, pp. 74, 276, fig. 236 (detail of 8 + 9).

344a–346a Or.Dr. I, 69; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white signed *A. H. Layard*; 41.6 × 67.5 cm (62.5 cm); scale given: 1-1/2 in. = 1 ft. (1:8).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 7. 8. 9. Chamber FF Kouyunjik'.

Russell, 1991, pp. 148–9, fig. 77.

PLATES 246, 248, 252

344b Alternative drawing of slab 7: Or.Dr. II, 16; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by C. D. Hodder; 41.9 × 35.6 cm (24.4 cm); fragments numbered: 1–37.

Annotations in ink: 'Key Sketch. Sennacherib Chamber. No XV', 'From the edge of the mound facing Nebbi Younis'; annotations in pencil: 'Key sketch slab(?) No XV'; 'These slabs were taken from the Chamber on the edge of the Mound, facing Nebbi Younis'. (Note that elsewhere 'Sennacherib Chamber' is used for Room XXXVI (OO), the 'Lachish room').

PLATE 247

344c Original of slab 7 in London, BM WA 124953 (56-9-9, 1); 172.7 × 134.6 cm.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 53 (left).

PLATES 246, (details) 251

345b Alternative drawing of slab 8: Or.Dr. II, 17; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by C. D. Hodder; 39.3 × 51.9 cm (41.6 cm); fragments numbered: 1–39 (lower register entirely preserved as no. 1).

Annotation in ink: 'Key Sketch. Sennacherib Chamber. No XVII'; annotation in pencil: 'No XVI' (over erased pencil inscription and beneath ink inscription).

PLATE 250

345c Original of slab 8 in London, BM WA 124954 (56-9-9, 1); 199 × 196.2 cm.

Paterson, 1915, pls 53–4 (centre); Reade, 1983, p. 42, fig. 60.

PLATES 249, (details) 245, 247, 251

346b Alternative drawing of slab 9: Or.Dr. II, 18; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, probably by C. D. Hodder; 44.4 × 37.9 cm (29.5 cm); fragments numbered: 1–20.

Annotation in ink: 'Key Sketch No XVII (sic)'; annotations in pencil: 'No XVII'; 'No 17'.

PLATE 254

346c Original of slab 9 in London, BM WA 124955 (56-9-9, 3); 152.4 × 163.2 cm.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 54 (right); Hall, 1928, pl. XXXVII; Wiseman, 1955, pl. III:2; Russell, 1991, p. 30 fig. 19 (detail).

PLATES 253, (details) 256, 257

347–349 Slabs 10 + 11 + 12: Only part of the upper register of slabs 10 and 11 survives and it shows Assyrian soldiers roasting meat on a fire for a meal for the soldiers waiting to the right; the head of a ram lies at the foot of a palm tree. The lower register shows spoil consisting of furniture, weapons, quivers and cauldrons piled in front of two scribes; behind them, a row of spearmen, lancers, archers, and cavalrymen with their horses, facing left. Each register depicts palm groves.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 36 (left, slab 10 only, labelled as a continuation of plate 35); Gadd, 1936, p. 175.

347a–349a Or.Dr. IV, 37; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, signed *A. H. Layard*; 36.5 × 66.8 cm (59 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'Nos. 10. 11. 12 Chamber FF Kouyunjik'; 'Two plates to be divided at X'. (This indicates the division of the drawing on the plates in Layard, 1853b).

PLATES 252, 256, 259

347b Alternative drawing of slab 10: Or.Dr. II, 19; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by C. D. Hodder; 48.3 × 32.9 cm (20.9 cm); fragments numbered: 1–20.

Annotation in ink: 'Key Sketch. No XVIII.'; annotation in pencil: 'Key sketch to slab No. XVIII' at the top, repeated at the bottom with the number given as '18' with 'VIII' partially erased alongside.

PLATE 254

347c Original of slab 10 in London, BM WA 124956 (56-9-9, 1) 134.6 × 109.2 × 18 cm.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 55 (left); Hall, 1928, pl. XXXVI:2 (detail); Reade, 1983, p. 43, fig. 61 (detail).

PLATES 253, (details) 255

348b Alternative drawing of slab 11: Or.Dr. II, 20; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by C. D. Hodder; 32.5 × 43.5 cm (29.2 cm).

Annotation in ink: 'Key Sketch No. XIX'; annotations in pencil: 'No. XIX'; 'No 19'.

PLATE 258

348c Original of slab 11 in London BM WA 124957 (56-9-9, 1); 160 × 154.9 × 18 cm.

Paterson, 1915, pls 55–6 (10 + 11); Hall, 1928, pl. XXXVI:2 (detail).

PLATES 257, (details) 255

349b Alternative drawing of slab 12; Or.Dr. II, 21; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by C. D. Hodder; 33.3 × 51.6 cm (40.2 cm); fragments numbered: 1–2.

Annotation in ink: 'Key Sketch No XX'; annotations in pencil: 'No XX'; 'No 20'.

This drawing shows a fragment of the upper register, missing in Layard's drawing.

PLATE 262

349c Original of slab 12 in London, BM WA 124958 (56-9-9, 1); 83.2 × 211.5 cm.

The fragment in the upper register is only shown on the alternative drawing **349b**.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 57 (left).

PLATES 263, (details) 261, 263

350–351 Slabs 13 + 14: In the upper register, which is only preserved in the case of slab 14, a soldier stands between two horses, holding a rein in each hand. In the lower register on both slabs, Assyrian archers facing left lead horses and hold lances in their right hands (on their backs they have bowcases topped by a cock's head – see also **403**).

Gadd, 1936, p. 175.

350a–351a Or.Dr. II, 22; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by C. D. Hodder; 37.8 × 53.3 cm (14.6 cm, 31.1 cm).

Annotation in ink: 'Key Sketch Nos XXI. XXII.'; annotations in pencil: '21'; '22'; 'No XXI'; 'No XXII'; remains of a pencil scale with 3 ft = 17 cm.

PLATE 260

350b Original of slab 13 in London, BM WA 124959 (56-9-9, 1); 73.6 × 83.8 × 18 cm.

Paterson, 1915, pls 57–8 (centre).

PLATES 261, 264

351b Original of slab 14 in London, BM WA 124960 (56-9-9, 1); 157.5 × 162.6 × 18 cm.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 58 (right).

PLATES 261, (details) 258, 259

Fragments possibly belonging to this room:

352 Baghdad, IM 26230; 165.4 × 56.8 cm.

Assyrian soldiers have embarked some inhabitants of the marshes of southern Babylonia in reed boats, after conquering a fortified city. The natives³ stand on the double walls with arms raised to beg for mercy. Inscription (damaged) on the city wall: 'Qibi/Qigab'. An alternative location is the southwestern façade of the palace (**594**).

Gadd, 1936, p. 230; Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 76, pl. IV (inscription: [Kin. . .]); Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929b, p. 109, pl. LVIII 6; Falkner, 1952–3, pp. 250–1, fig. 40 (p. 249) (inscription: [^{al}qi-qigab. . .]); Basmachi, 1975–6, p. 404, no. 154; De Graeve, 1981, p. 54, pl. XXVIII, no. 61.

PLATE 264

353 Rome, Museo Barracco 50 (ex 2); 43 × 64 cm.

Marsh dwellers hiding in reed beds.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 34–6, Abb. 36; Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980, p. 146.

PLATE 264

353 bis Baghdad, IM 31070; 38 × 40 cm.

Corpse in water, with fish.

PLATE 264

Notes

- 1 Cf. Barnett, 1976, *passim*; Reade (1979a, p. 110) suggests ascribing the sculptures of Room XXVIII (FF) to Sin-shar-ishkun rather than to Ashurbanipal. See the introduction notes to Court XIX (U) for further details.
- 2 For marsh dwellers, see Wäfler, 1975, p. 150 and note 772; and De Graeve, 1981, p. 53. The designation 'marsh dwellers' is used here as a general term, since on present evidence no distinction can be made between different tribes, groups, clans or other subdivisions (see Brinkman, 1977, pp. 304–9).
- 3 De Graeve (1981, p. 54) identifies the people represented on the slabs of Room XXVIII (FF) as 'marsh Arabs' (see also Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 76), but other representations of Arabs, e.g. from the North Palace (Barnett, 1976, pl. XXXII f.), show that they were depicted differently; see Wäfler, 1975, pp. 150–5; also n. 2 above. This fragment was found in or just beneath the pavement towards the west side of the Temple of Nabû, and may have come from Room XXVIII or Room LXX, where we find similar decoration (Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, pp. 75–6).

ROOM XXIX (Z)

No slabs in this room are numbered on any of Layard's plans, probably because although the walls survived in most parts, they were lined with unsculptured slabs of fossiliferous limestone. Room XXIX (Z) seems to have been a room of some importance. It was entered from Court XIX (U) through Entrances *i*, *h* and *g* (276, 280, 289).

Returning to the great hall [Court XIX] . . . , I found on its western side three other entrances, corresponding with those on the southern, the centre formed by a pair of winged bulls in a fossiliferous limestone. They led into a chamber 58 feet by 34, panelled with unsculptured slabs of the same material as the colossi at the principal portal. Three similar doorways opened into a parallel chamber.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 445)

Paterson, 1915, p. 8; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 63, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 81.

354 Entrance *j* leading into Room XXX (AA).

355 Entrance *k* leading into Room XXXIV (MM).

356 Entrance *l* leading into Room XXXIV (MM); lined with bull colossi.

Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 29, 31, no. 18.

357 Entrance *e* leading into Room XXXIV (MM).

358 Entrance *f* leading into Room XXXVIII (V).

ROOM XXX (AA, CC)

Room XXX (AA, CC) was entered from Room XXIX (Z) through Entrance *j* (354). The northeastern part of this room is identified

on Layard's unpublished plan (PLATE 7) as AA, whereas its southwestern part is marked CC. This room is not mentioned in Layard's notebooks, but in *Nineveh and Babylon*, he describes it as lined with unsculptured slabs of fossiliferous limestone.

Layard, 1853a, p. 445; Paterson, 1915, p. 8; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 63, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 81.

359 Entrance *p* leading into Room XXXIII (BB); lined with winged lions or sphinxes of fossiliferous limestone.

Layard, 1853a, p. 446; Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 29, 31, no. 20 where the inscription behind one of the lions is discussed; Russell, 1991, p. 276 (text of inscription).

360 Entrance *n* leading into Room XXXI (DD); lined with figures similar to those of Entrance *o* (362) between Rooms XXXI (DD) and XXXII (EE). See also 363 which may have come from the northwest side of this entrance.

The entrances to both were formed by two pairs of colossal figures, each pair consisting of a man wearing the horned cap surmounted by a fleur-de-lis, and a lion-headed and eagle-footed human figure raising a dagger in one hand, and holding a mace in the other. These sculptures were remarkable for the boldness of the relief and their high finish.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 462)

Green, 1986, p. 198, nos 80–1.

361 Entrance *m* leading into Room XXXIV (MM). This may have had a fish-cloaked figure on the east jamb with the other side destroyed (see p. 19, n. 8, in connection with *LN 2E*, f. 34r, Room PP).

ROOM XXXI (DD) (PLATES 266–267)

Entrance *n* (360) on its northeast side leads into this room from Room XXX (CC). None of the slabs is numbered and 371, 373–382 could come from this room, rather than Room EE, as the slabs were said by Layard (1853a, p. 462) to be similar in both rooms. This would agree with the attribution in Add.MS 39077 (transcribed by Russell, 1995, p. 81) of 11 slabs to Room DD (XXXI) which, in *LN 2C*, ff. 11v–12r, are wrongly attributed to Room FF (XXVIII). See 755 which has been attributed to this room.

Layard, 1853a, p. 462; Paterson, 1915, p. 8; Wäfler, 1975, p. 369; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 63, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 81.

362 Entrance *o* leading into Room XXXII (EE), is formed by two pairs of entrance figures, each consisting of a god with a raised fist and a lion-headed, eagle-footed demon, with a dagger in his raised right hand and a mace in the other.

Layard, 1853a, p. 462 (text-fig.); Jones, 1853, p. 362; Rassam, 1897, p. 24; Ellis, 1977, pp. 67–76, fig. 11 (lion-man type b); Wäfler, 1975, p. 279, n. 1437; Green, 1986a, pp. 197–8, pl. 19, nos 78–9.

362a Entrance *o*, northeast side: Or.Dr. IV, 30; pencil drawing on white paper, signed *A. H. Layard*: 30.8 × 57.8 cm (23.9 cm); scale given: *1 in. = 1 ft.* (1:12).

Annotation in pencil: 'Entrance Chamber EE. Kouyunjik'.

The slabs show a smiting god with three pairs of horns on his cap, wearing a short-sleeved shirt and a short kilt; he is bare-footed, with right arm raised as if brandishing a weapon and his fists are clenched; behind him is a lion-headed demon with equine ears and eagle's feet, with a dagger in his raised right hand and a mace in the other; both are facing left. Of the slab from the opposite side of this doorway, Layard only drew the god's short kilt.

PLATE 266

The following slab may have come from the southwest side of Entrance *o* (362) or from the northwest side of Entrance *n* (360).

363 London, BM WA 118932 (56-9-9, 11); 262.9 × 285.7 cm.

Two guardian figures, facing right. Gadd (1936, p. 191) suggests that this slab may have come from Entrance *o* as it fits very well with Or.Dr. IV, 30 (362a). However, the slab is also identical in detail with Or.Dr. VII, 8 (Barnett, 1976, pl. XXI), and Paterson (1915, p. 8) omits it, regarding it as coming from the North Palace. The entrance figures are carved in higher relief than all the historical scenes.

Gadd, 1936, pp. 174–5, pl. 17; Green, 1986a, pp. 197–8, pl. 19, no. 78; Russell, 1991, p. 181, fig. 95.

PLATE 267

ROOM XXXII (EE) (PLATES 268–285)

The only entrance in this room is Entrance *o* (362) on its northwest side, formed by two pairs of entrance figures.

The bas-reliefs on the walls of the two chambers XXXI and XXXII recorded the same campaign against a nation dwelling amidst a wooded and mountainous country, and in strongly fortified cities, which the Assyrians took by assault, using battering rams to make breaches in the walls, and scaling ladders to mount to the assault. The besieged defended themselves with arrows and stones, but their strongholds were captured, and a vast amount of spoil and captives fell into the hands of the conquerors. The men had short, bushy hair and beards, and wore an inner garment reaching to the knee, an outer cloak of skins or fur, and gaiters laced in front. The robes of the women were short; their hair hung low down their backs, and was then gathered up into one large curl.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 462)

Paterson, 1915, p. 9; Gadd, 1936, p. 250; Wäfler, 1975, p. 369; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 63, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 81.

364–366 Slabs 1 + 2 + 3: Three pairs of archers shoot arrows towards the right. Soldiers climb ladders against a fortified city wall with arched doorways. Only the lower halves of slabs 1 and 2 survived, but slab 3 was almost totally preserved. Above are wooded hills and a small river with fish at the foot of the hills; below is represented the double wall of a city, with relatively high towers above the walls and inhabitants on top of them, using small rectangular shields; neither the walls nor the towers have any battlements. At the bottom, a row of male and female captives are led towards the right in mountainous country.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 31; Paterson, 1915, pl. 59; Gadd, 1936, p. 173; Porada, 1945, pp. 158–9.

364a–366a Or.Dr. I, 64; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, signed *A. H. Layard*; 43.5 × 66.5 cm (55.2 cm); scale given: 1-1/2 in. = 1 ft. (1:8).

Annotation in pencil: '1. 2. 3. Chamber EE Kouyunjik'.

Porada, 1989, p. 239, pl. 38.

PLATES 269, 270, 272

364b–365b Alternative drawing of slabs 1 + 2: Or.Dr. VI, 8; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white, probably by C. D. Hodder; 43 × 69.2 cm (66.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'.

Gadd, 1936, p. 174.

PLATES 269, 271

365c Original fragment of slab 2 in New York, MMA 32.143.15; ex Canford Manor, sold by Lord Wimborne to Dikran Kelekian in 1919; on loan in Philadelphia till 1927; gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1932; 83.2 × 60.3 cm.

Irregularly shaped fragment showing part of the battle scene. Assyrian archers and spearmen are attacking a city and climbing up a ladder and archers in pairs are discharging arrows towards the right.

Pijoán, 1931, p. 309 (detail); Porada, 1945, p. 158; Wäfler, 1975, p. 279, n. 1439; Russell, 1991, p. 284.

PLATE 274

365d Original fragment of slab 2 in New York, MMA 54.136.1; gift of Edith van Wyck, 1954 (three pieces joined); 35 × 52 cm.

Fragment showing the archers on the tower and wall to the left of and above the gateway and the figure hurling a stone between them.

PLATES 271, 274

366b Alternative drawing of slab 3: Or.Dr. VI, 10; unsigned pencil drawing on greyish green paper, enhanced with white and brown, probably by C. D. Hodder; 64.4 × 49.4 cm (43.5 cm); scale given: 3 inches to the foot (1:4).

Annotations in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'; '3 Slabs forming one side of a Chamber'.

Gadd, 1936, p. 174; SAA IV, fig. 38.

PLATE 273

367 Slab 4: Not drawn; probably continuation of besieged city and row of deportees below.

368 Slabs 5 (corner) + 6: Wooded hills above, and a small river at the foot of hills; below, four pairs of soldiers attacking towards the left with, behind them, three Assyrian soldiers advancing towards the right, carrying heads of slain enemies, but no scribes are preserved; below them, on slab 5, pairs of archers discharge arrows towards the left, and behind them an auxiliary spearman follows a flock of sheep and goats towards the right onto slab 6; at the bottom, a row of captives wearing animal-skin cloaks ascends a hill towards the right, and another row of captives below them is depicted in mountainous country.

368a Or.Dr. VI, 7; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on greenish brown paper, enhanced with brown wash; 62.2 × 49.7 cm (44.6 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'.
Gadd, 1936, p. 174; *SAA V*, fig. 38.

PLATE 275

[362] Entrance *o* leading into Room XXXI (DD).

369–370 Slabs 7 + 8: Only the lower halves of the slabs survive. There are traces of trees along a water-course on the upper edge; below, two rows of deportees wearing animal-skin cloaks advance towards the right preceded, in the upper row, by soldiers carrying the heads of slain enemies and piling them in a heap in front of two scribes; facing the deportees are two rows of Assyrian spearmen on slab 8; at the bottom, a row of led horses with cavalymen face left in wooded mountainous country.

Layard, 1853a, p. 462; Layard, 1853b, pl. 19.

369a–370a Or.Dr. IV, 31; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white and black, signed *A. H. Layard*; 34.3 × 58.2 cm (49.5 cm); scale given: *1-1/2 in. = 1 ft.* (1:8).

Annotation in pencil: '*Nos. 7–8. Chamber EE Kouyunjik*'.
Gadd, 1936, p. 173.

PLATES 276, 278

369b Alternative drawing of slab 7: Or.Dr. VI, 15; pencil drawing on greenish brown paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, probably by C. D. Hodder; 48.9 × 68.9 cm (56.8 cm).

Annotations in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'; '*WB*' or '*MB*' crossed out.'

Gadd, 1936, p. 173; *SAA V*, fig. 33.

PLATE 280

370b Alternative drawing of slab 8: Or.Dr. VI, 1; unsigned pencil drawing on greenish grey paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, probably by C. D. Hodder; 43.5 × 55.6 cm (43.1 cm).

Annotations in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'; '*WB*' or '*MB*' crossed out.

Gadd, 1936, p. 173.

PLATE 281

369c–370c Originals of slabs 7 + 8 in London, BM WA 124902 + 124903 (56.9.9, 12); slab 7: 157.5 × 221 × 15.2 cm; slab 8: 172.7 × 175.2 × 15.2 cm.

Some small fragments from the bottom of the slabs are missing. See **88** and **89** for comparable led horses, perhaps also from this room.

Paterson, 1915, pls 60–1; Gadd, 1936, pp. 173–4; Russell, 1991, pp. 140–1, fig. 71.

PLATES 277, 279, (details) 274, 285

Layard did not number the slabs on the northeast and southeast walls of this room in his plan (PLATE 10), but the following drawings and slabs can probably be attributed to this room or to Room XXXI (DD) (see also **755** and **760**):

371a Slab (?): Or.Dr. VI, 29 left; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 42.5 × 67.9 cm (21.7 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'.

Part of a horse in an upper register; below, two rows of deportees followed by Assyrian soldiers in mountainous country.

PLATE 282

371b Original fragment in Brussels, MRAH O.3869; ex Amherst; 60 × 50 cm.

Parts of two registers: in the upper is part of an equid, moving towards the right; below, two female deportees followed by an archer.

Homès-Fredericq, 1982, pp. 36–7.

PLATE 282

372a Slab (?): Or.Dr. VI, 11; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on greyish green paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 66.7 × 47.3 cm (36.2 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'.

Two files of deportees wearing animal-skin cloaks are escorted towards the right by Assyrian soldiers; in the lower file, a pair of archers shoot arrows towards the left; a small river with fish and a row of trees at the bottom.

Gadd, 1936, p. 174.

PLATE 283

373 Not used.

On the following fragments the treatment of the hair is similar to that of deportees on slabs from Room XXXII (EE). These fragments may therefore come from this room or from Room XXXI (DD):

374 Venice, Museo Archeologico Civico, Deposito Correr 42; 14 × 10.8 cm.

Head of a deportee, facing right.

Falkner, 1952–3, pp. 33–4, fig. 9; Wäfler, 1975, p. 279, n. 1438.

PLATE 284

375 Venice, Museo Archeologico Civico, Deposito Correr 49; 7.3 × 9.5 cm; dark greyish stone.

Small fragment showing the head of a bearded man, facing right, probably a deportee.

Falkner, 1952–3, pp. 33–4, fig. 10.

PLATE 284

376 Venice, Museo Archeologico Civico, Deposito Correr 50; 8 × 7.3 cm.

Head of a deportee.

Falkner, 1952–3, pp. 33–4, fig. 11.

PLATE 284

377 London, BM WA 90955 (K 12087); 7.6 × 8.9 × 6.4 cm.

Head of a deportee facing left; the end of a framed cuneiform inscription above.

PLATE 284

378 Present location unknown; ex Canford School; 16.5 × 12.7 cm. Small fragment with heads of slain enemies piled in a heap. Christies Sale Catalogue, London 6 July 1994, lot 227, attributed to Room XXXVIII (see 450, slab 15).

PLATE 284

379 Present location unknown; 12 × 11.4 cm. Small fragment with the head of an archer, facing right, discharging an arrow.

Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London, 9 December 1963, lot 31.

PLATE 285

380 Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum Ind. 47401; presented by Mrs Edmond – obtained in the Near East around 1870 by her grandfather; dimensions unknown.

Upper parts of two deportees, side by side, facing right; the face of the second is missing.

PLATE 285

Note

1 This and some other drawings show 'WB' or 'MB' in pencil; in most cases these initials are crossed out. This might indicate that it was not a signature but that someone else had attributed the drawings to William Boucher erroneously; alternatively the initials may have been an abbreviation for something quite different.

ROOM XXXIII (BB) (PLATES 286–320)

Entrance *p* (359) led from Room XXX (AA) into Room XXXIII (BB). Entrance *c* (387) led onto the Southeast Terrace Platform, Room LX (WW), or into a range of rooms now missing (see Chapter 3). This room was lined with the same speckled fossiliferous limestone¹ as other rooms in this part of the palace (Rooms XXIX, XXX). The backs of the slabs bore Sennacherib's name and titles (Layard, 1853a, p. 459) but the slabs were left unadorned during his reign. Under Ashurbanipal, they were carved with scenes depicting his campaign against Elam in c. 653 BC, and the great battle of Til-Tuba on the River Ulai, in which Te-Umman (Tempt-Humban-Inshushinak), king of Elam, was defeated.² The fact that this was the only room in this distinctive stone to be carved with reliefs has enabled the attribution of fragments to this sequence of reliefs (Reade, 1979a, p. 96).

On either side of Entrance *p*, three numbered slabs survived. The edges of slabs 3 and 4 nearest the door were cut back and were pierced with holes for metal fittings. Several small fragments from the upper part of slabs 1–6 or from unnumbered slabs in this room were found in the rubbish. Most of Layard's long description is reproduced here but Reade should be consulted for a more recent interpretation of the events depicted.

These highly interesting bas-reliefs had been exposed, like all the other sculptures of Kouyunjik, to the fire which had destroyed the palace. Although each slab was cracked into many pieces, the sculptures themselves had suffered less injury than any others discovered in the same

ruins, the hard fossiliferous limestone not having become calcined by the heat like the alabaster. The outline was still sharp and the details perfectly preserved. Considerable care was required to move them. But the pieces were at length packed, and since their arrival in England have been admirably restored, with the rest of the bas-reliefs now in the British Museum, by Mr Sumsion. The whole series has been given from my drawings in the second series of the Monuments of Nineveh.

Unfortunately no slabs but those I have described remained against the walls of this apartment.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 458–9)

Layard, 1853a, pp. 446–60; Paterson, 1915, p. 9; Gadd, 1936, p. 250; Wäfler, 1975, p. 287, n. 1487, p. 372; Reade, 1979a, pp. 89, 96–101; Russell, 1991, pp. 63, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 81.

381–383 *The Battle of the River Ulai*

The three slabs to the right of the winged lions on entering, were occupied by a highly curious representation of a battle. The subject was incomplete, and could not be restored. The Assyrians, having besieged and captured some great city, appeared to be pursuing the flying enemy. On the first remaining slab was part of a mound, on which a castle was probably built. Down the side of the artificial elevation ran the defeated warriors, no longer attempting defence, but giving themselves up to despair. One was plucking out his beard, a common action amongst easterns [sic] to denote grief; some tearing their hair, and others turning round to ask for quarter from their merciless pursuers. On the sides of the mound were the dead and dying, and the bows and quivers of the slain. A wounded mule was falling to the ground, whilst his rider, pierced by an arrow, raised his hands to implore for mercy. An Assyrian soldier, or ally, distinguished by a low round cap, and a kind of belt or shawl twisted round his breast, was dragging a body towards him, probably with the intention of cutting off the head. Beneath the mound a horseman was piercing with his spear a flying enemy, and two warriors in a car drawn by a mule, were hastening from the battle-field.

The remainder of the subject was divided by horizontal parallel lines into six parts or friezes; of which, however, only three were entire. From the number of figures introduced, and the complicated nature of the action, it is difficult to describe these important bas-reliefs intelligibly. In the lowest compartment, archers and spearmen, some on horses, were represented in close combat with the enemy, whose armies, like those of the Assyrians, were composed of footmen and cavalry. The battle-field was strewn with the slain, and with their scattered arms; but, as usual, the sculptor, to flatter the vanity of his countrymen, had not portrayed a single Assyrian either dead or wounded. In the second frieze the enemy were seen fighting in carts drawn by mules. In the next compartment were Assyrian warriors bearing the heads of the slain, and leaving the field of battle in a cart captured from the foe. . . .

Behind the cart with the Assyrian warriors, was the tent of the registrar, to which had been led a captive chief and his two attendants. Within were collected a heap of human heads, whilst warriors were bringing more of these bloody trophies to the appointed scribes. In another part of the battle was seen the chariot of one of the princes of the Elamites. Four spirited horses, wounded by arrows, were plunging and rearing; ([Footnote:] This group of horses is remarkable for its spirit and correct delineation.) and the chief with his charioteer were falling from the overturned chariot. Beneath was a group representing an Assyrian warrior holding his horse by the bridle, and advancing towards a fallen enemy, who, turning towards his conqueror, placed one hand upon his throat,

a gesture either of entreaty, or to indicate his approaching fate. Above him was an epigraph, commencing apparently with his name, of which only one letter remained, and declaring that he was a general of the Susianian king(?). Around these groups, Assyrians, armed with battle-axes and maces, were slaying the unresisting foe. In this part of the bas-relief were two short epigraphs, which appeared to state that the slaughtered warriors were sons of the king of Elam. These princes were distinguished by a peculiar round cap, to which was attached a long feather falling down the back, a head-dress subsequently worn by Persian kings. They were clothed in embroidered and fringed robes, and their chariots were drawn by four horses.

Crows and vultures were represented feasting upon the carcasses of the slain. Adjoining the field of battle was a broad river, into which the Assyrians were driving the retreating enemy: it was filled with the dead bodies of men and horses, and with bows and quivers.

Above the battle scenes were the conquerors torturing, and leading into captivity, their prisoners. They were divided into three rows, parts of two only had been preserved.

Several of the captives were apparently about to undergo some dreadful torture; with their hands manacled in iron fetters, they knelt over an object which might be a chafing-dish with hot coals or a vessel to receive their blood. One of the torturers held his victim by a collar round his neck; whilst a second, seizing the unfortunate prisoner by his hair, was about to strike him with an iron-headed mace.^[3] . . . The Elamites, we find from these bas-reliefs, used even in war, besides chariots, a kind of cart drawn by mules, and consisting of a flat stage raised upon lofty wheels, which had as many as twelve and even sixteen spokes. The largest of these cars could hold five or six persons, and were adorned with a fringed or embroidered cloth. The smallest it would appear contained only two, the warrior and the charioteer, who sat on a kind of raised seat. . . . The harness of the mules consisted of a simple band round the chest, hung with rosettes and tassels, probably of colored wool. They were guided either by reins, or by a long rod held by the charioteer in his right hand. Mules were also, it would seem, ridden by this people in battle, and were then caparisoned like horses. The dress of the fighting men consisted chiefly of a tunic, or single shirt, falling to the knee, and bound at the waist by a narrow girdle. Some of them had round their shoulders a kind of band knotted in front. This appears to have been a contrivance to support the quiver suspended at the back. Their hair was long, and was confined by a fillet, or riband tied behind the head in a kind of bow. The captive chief and his attendants in the tent wore robes falling to the knee in front, and to the ankles behind. Those who fought on foot were armed with the bow, but the cavalry used the spear. The archers carried at their backs quivers of peculiar form, and ornamented at the sides and on the top with rosettes. I have already described the peculiar dress of the princes; it was completed by high boots or greaves laced up in front, and probably of yellow leather.

Amongst the captives were men clothed in fringed robes and a short under-tunic: these were probably the lords of the land. The women wore their hair in curls, falling on their shoulders, and bound above the temples by a band or fillet. Some had one long ringlet on each side of the face. Their children were either naked or clothed in simple shirts.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 446–50)

Layard, 1853a, p. 447 (woodcut of detail); Layard, 1853b, pls 45–6; Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 75–86, nos 45–7; Budge, 1922, p. 54; Yadin, 1963, pp. 302–3, 442–3; Nagel, 1967, pp. 18–19, 21, 27–30, pl. 20; Barnett, 1976, p. 6 (description of events); Reade, 1979a, pp. 96–101 (description of events); Bleibtreu, 1980, pp. 215–17.

381 Inscription on slab 1:

- 1 Head of Te-Um[man, king of Elam],
- 2 which in the thick of bat[tle] a common
- 3 soldier in my army [cut off]. To (give me) the good ne[ws]
- 4 they hastily dispatched (it) to Assy[ria].

382 Inscription on slab 2:

- 1 Urtak, Te-Umman's son-in-law,
- 2 who was wounded by an arrow, (but) did not die,
- 3 called to an Assyrian for his own decapitation
- 4 saying: 'Come here, cut off my head,
- 5 bring (it) to the king your lord and make a good name (for yourself).'

381a–382a Or.Dr. II, 2; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 42.8 × 66 cm (61 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Nos. 1. 2. Chamber BB Kouyunjik*'.

PLATES 288, 292

383 Inscriptions on slab 3:

- 1 Te-Umman, in desperation,
 - 2 said to his son:
 - 3 'Use the bow.'
-
- 1 Te-Umman, king of Elam, who in fierce battle
 - 2 was wounded, Tammaritu,⁴ his eldest son,
 - 3 took him by the hand, (and) to save (their) lives,
 - 4 they fled. They hid in the midst of the forest.
 - 5 With the help of Ashur and Ishtar, I killed them.
 - 6 Their heads I cut off in front of each other.

383a Or.Dr. II, 3; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 60.6 × 31.7 cm (28.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*No 3 Chamber BB Kouyunjik*'.

PLATE 296

381b–383b Originals in London, BM WA 124801a–c (51-9-2, 8); slab 1: 180.3 × 200.6 × 15.2 cm; slab 2: 147.3 × 175.2 × 15.2 cm; slab 3: 208.3 × 175.3 cm; fossiliferous limestone.

Paterson, 1901–1911, pls LXXIV–LXXV, CIV–CV; Curtius, 1913, pp. 280, 282; Paterson, 1915, pls 62–4 (1 + 2 + 3; left edge of slab 1 is missing); Meissner, 1920a, Abb. 41 (slab 3); Hall, 1928, pl. XLI:1 (detail); Müller, 1928–9, pl. XIX:2 (slab 3); Gadd, 1936, pp. 180–1; Frankfort, 1954, pp. 97–8, pls 104–5; Barnett & Forman, n.d., pp. 30–1, pls 118–27, 130–3; Yadin, 1963, pp. 443–4; Nagel, 1967, pls 14, 15:2 (details); Barnett, 1970, pl. X (detail); Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, pls 138–51 (details); Orthmann, 1975, p. 323, pls 236–7; Wäfler, 1975, pls 15:2, 19:1 (details); Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980, pp. 121–5, nos 59–63 (details); Reade, 1979a, pls 17–18, 24b; Reade, 1983, pp. 61–4, figs 91 (slab 2), 92–3 (details).

PLATES **381b**: 289, (details) 289, 290, 291

382b: 293, (details) 291, 294, 295

383b: 297, (details) 294, 295, 298, 299

384–386 *The Aftermath of the Battle*

On the opposite side of the lion-entrance were also three slabs, but better preserved than those I have just described. They formed part of the same subject, which had evidently been carried round the four walls of the chamber. They represented the triumph of the Assyrian king, and, like the battle scenes, were divided by horizontal lines into several bands or friezes. The monarch stood in his chariot, surrounded by his body-guard. Unfortunately his face, with those of the charioteer and the eunuch bearing the parasol, had been purposely defaced, like that of Sennacherib on his monuments, probably when the united armies of the Medes and Babylonians destroyed the palace. The royal robes were profusely adorned with rosettes and fringes; the attendant eunuch was dressed in a chequered garment resembling a Scotch plaid. . . .

In front of the chariot were two warriors or guards in embroidered robes and greaves. Their long hair was bound by a fillet, whose tasselled ends fell loose behind. They were preceded by two remarkable figures, both eunuchs, and probably intended for portraits of some well-known officers of the royal household. One was old and corpulent: his forehead was high and ample; his nose curved and small, and his chin round and double. The wrinkles of the brow, the shaggy eyebrows, and the bloated cheeks, with the stubble beard peculiar to beings of his class, were very faithfully represented. His short hair was tied with a fillet. His companion was younger, and had not the same marked features. He carried before him a square object resembling a closed box or book, perhaps a clay tablet containing some decree or register, such as were discovered in the ruins. Both wore long plain shirts, and round their waists a simple cord, in which was fixed a whip, probably a sign of their office. . . .

Above the royal chariot was a row of trees, and beneath a procession of mace-bearers and led horses, richly caparisoned. A lower compartment contained a curious ground plan of a city. . . . Its position between two rivers well agrees with that of existing ruins generally believed to mark its site. The smaller stream would be the Shapour, and the larger the Eulocus or river of Dizful. The city was surrounded by a wall, with equidistant towers and gateways. The houses were flat roofed, and some had one tower or upper chamber, and others two. They had no windows, and their doors were square. . . . Outside the walls were groves of palms and other trees, and a kind of suburb of houses scattered amongst the gardens as around Baghdad and Busrâh. On the river bank stood two forts with towers, one raised on an artificial mound. Near the large river, at the bottom of the slab, was either a pond in the midst of palm trees, or the source of a rivulet which fell into the main stream.

The adjoining slab was divided into eight bands or friezes, by parallel lines, and the next slab into seven. On both were represented the Assyrian army returning from its victorious campaign, and bringing to the king the captives and the spoil. The prisoners, who were probably considered rather rebels to his authority than enemies, were being cruelly tortured in his presence. The principal group was that of the eunuch general, or Tartan, leading a chief or prince of the conquered people. With one hand he grasped his captive by the wrist, and raised in the other a long and massy spear. At his back was hung a quiver and bow, and an embossed belt encircled his mailed vest. The prisoner wore a simple robe falling to his ankles, and a knotted fillet round his head. Above him was an inscription unfortunately much mutilated. It appears to have declared that he was one of the sons or chiefs of the Susianian monarch, defeated and slain in battle near the district of Madakru. . . .

Before the captive prince were gathered a number of the Susianians, probably the subjects of the slaughtered king, who had come to surrender to the Assyrian general, for they still carried their arms, and were not led by the victorious warriors. Some of them knelt, some bowed to the ground,

and others, stretched at full length, rubbed their heads in the dust, all signs of grief and submission still practised in the East. They were followed by a led horse, and by a cart drawn by a mule, resembling those represented in the battle scenes. Another Tartan of the Assyrian army, holding his war-horse and carrying his spear, also received the homage of the conquered Susianians. The Assyrian generals were welcomed by bands of men and women, dancing, singing, and playing on instruments of music. . . .

The musicians were accompanied by six women and nine boys and girls of different ages, singing and clapping their hands to the measure. The first were distinguished by various head-dresses. Some wore their hair in long ringlets, some platted or braided, and others confined in a net. One held her hands to her throat, as the Arab and Persian women still do when they make those shrill and vibrating sounds peculiar to the vocal music of the East. The whole scene, indeed, was curiously illustrative of modern Eastern customs. The musicians portrayed in the bas-relief were probably of that class of public performers who appear in Turkey and Egypt at marriages, and on other occasions of rejoicing.

Behind the two Assyrian generals were cavalry, chariots, led horses, and armed warriors, forming two friezes of considerable beauty, no less remarkable for the delicacy of the execution than for the very spirited and correct delineation of the animals.

A long line of warriors, some bearing maces, bows, spears, and shields, and other crossing their hands before them in the common Eastern attitude of respect, formed a frieze across the centre of the slabs. They were the attendants and body-guard of the king, and were represented of different heights, being probably picked men formed into companies or regiments according to their size and strength. They walked in front of a row of trees.

Above the Assyrian warriors were the captives and their torturers. The former differed in costume from the Susianian fighting-men represented in the adjoining bas-reliefs. They were distinguished by the smallness of their stature, and by a very marked Jewish countenance – a sharp, hooked nose, short bushy beard, and long narrow eyes. Could they have belonged to the Hebrew tribes which were carried away from Samaria and Jerusalem, and placed by Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, or Essarhaddon, as colonists in the distant regions of Elam, and who, having become powerful in their new settlements, had revolted against their Assyrian rulers, and were once again subdued? They wore a kind of conical cap, to which were attached two or more tails or ribands, an inner garment reaching a little below the knee, an outer fringed robe falling down the back to the ankles, and boots turned up at the toes and laced in front. A band hanging over their shoulders ended in a tassel. Some in iron fetters were being led before the king, for judgment or pardon. Others had been condemned to the torture, and were already in the hands of the executioners. Two were stretched naked at full length on the ground, and whilst their limbs were held apart by pegs and cords they were being flayed alive. Beneath them were other unfortunate victims undergoing abominable punishments. The brains of one were apparently being beaten out with an iron mace, whilst an officer held him by the beard. A torturer was wrenching the tongue out of the mouth of a second wretch who had been pinioned to the ground. The bleeding heads of the slain were tied round the necks of the living who seemed reserved for still more barbarous tortures. . . .

The only spoil represented in these bas-reliefs as carried away by the Assyrians consisted of horses and bundles of precious woods. At the top of each slab was a frieze of warriors drawn up in array, and at the bottom a broad river filled with those killed in the fight, and horses, mules, chariots, carts, bows, and quivers. (Layard, 1853a, pp. 451–8)

Layard, 1853a, pp. 455, 457–8 (woodcuts of details); Layard, 1853b, pl. 47; Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, p. 344, fig. 157 (detail); Hrouda, 1965, pls 61, 62:1; Nagel, 1967, pp. 18–19, 21, 27–30, pl. 21; Barnett, 1976, p. 6 (description of events); Reade, 1976, pl. 21:2; Reade, 1979a, pp. 96–101 (description of events); Bleibtreu, 1980, pp. 192–3, 217, 224–5; Magen, 1986, p. 165.

384 Inscriptions on slab 4:

- 1 [Mannu-ki-ahhe] (and) [Nabu-usalli], who about Ashur,
- 2 the god, my creator, had spoken great insults,
- 3 their tongues I ripped out, their flesh I flayed.

On the back of slab 4 was an inscription mentioning the Palace of Sennacherib; a cast of it was once exhibited (Birch & Pinches, 1883, p. 97, no. 48*).

384a Or.Dr. II, 4; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 65.7 × 31.7 cm (23.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*No 4 chamber BB Kouyunjik*'.

PLATE 300

384b Or.Dr. VI, 60 bottom; pencil drawing by Layard of procession and prisoners being flayed in two upper registers; 9.3 × 13.5 cm.

Presented by Miss Layard in 1954.

385 Inscription on slab 5:

- 1 [Umman]igash, the fugitive, the servant who had grasped my feet,
- 2 at my command, joyfully into the midst of Madaktu³
- 3 and Susa I caused my representative, whom I sent,
- 4 to enter, and he installed him on
- 5 the throne of Te-Umman, whom my hands conquered.

385a Or.Dr. II, 5; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 64.1 × 42.8 cm. (26 cm); scale given: 2 in. = 1 ft. (1:6).

Annotation in pencil: '*No 5 Chamber B B Kouyunjik*'.

PLATE 304

384b–385b Or.Dr. VI, 60 middle; pencil drawing by Layard of torture scene and figure carrying head; 5.4 × 17.5 cm.

Presented by Miss Layard in 1954.

386 Inscriptions on slab 6:

- 1 I, Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria,
- 2 with the help of Ashur and Ishtar my lords, my [enemies]
- 3 I conquered. I attained whatever I wished. Rusa,
- 4 king of Urartu, heard of the strength of Ashur, my lord, and
- 5 fear of my kingship overwhelmed him; he sent his nobles
- 6 to ask (about) my health. In the midst of Arba'ili
- 7 Nabu-damiq and Umbadara, nobles of Elam,
- 8 with writing boards with messages of insolence I made (them) stand before them.

- 1 The land of Madaktu.

386a Or.Dr. II, 6; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 66.3 × 43.5 cm (24.4 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*No 6 Chamber BB*'; (small sketch of necklace at r. side).

Russell, 1991, p. 124, fig. 65.

PLATE 308

386b Or.Dr. VI, 60 top; pencil drawing by Layard of musicians; 3.5 × 18.5 cm.

Presented by Miss Layard in 1954.

384c–386c Originals in London, BM WA 124802a–c (51-9-2, 7); slab 4: 269.3 × 142.2 × 15 cm; slab 5: 246.4 × 154.9 × 15 cm; slab 6: 269.2 × 152.4 × 15 cm with a small part of the corner surviving at the bottom; fossiliferous limestone.

Layard, 1853b, pls 47–9; Paterson, 1901–11, pls LXXVI–LXXVII, CVI–CVII; Paterson, 1915, pls 65–6; Hall, 1928, pl. XLV (detail); Gadd, 1936, pp. 180–1; Frankfort, 1954, p. 95, pl. 103; Barnett & Forman, n.d., p. 31, pl. 129 (detail); Parrot, 1961, p. 310, fig. 392 (detail of musicians); Pritchard, 1969a, no. 204 (slab 6); Rimmer, 1969, pp. 36–7, pls XIII–XIV (details of musicians); Barnett, 1970, p. 44; Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, pls 155–64 (details); Reade, 1976, pls 22, 24:1; Reade, 1979a, pls 19–20; Reade, 1979b, p. 337, fig. 7 (detail); Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980, pp. 126–30, nos 64–6c; Gunter, 1982, p. 106, pl. VIa; Reade, 1983, pp. 61–5, figs 95, 97–8; Rashid, 1984, pp. 136–9, figs 151–3 (details of musicians).

PLATES **384c**: 301, (details) 287, 295, 302, 303, 312

385c: 305, (details) 287, 306, 307, 312, 313, 318

386c: 309, (details) 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 318

387 Entrance *c* leading into an area LX (WW) described by Paterson as 'South-East-Façade'; on either side stood a block of plain limestone which, Layard suggests, may have been a base for a sculpture.

Layard, 1853a, p. 460; Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 29, 31, no. 21.

The following fragments can be attributed to this room because they are carved on the same speckled fossiliferous limestone at slabs 1–6 (see the introduction to this room):⁶

388 London, BM WA 124804 + 131126 (81-2-2, 6); 78.7 × 104.1 cm.

Large fragment of irregular shape, made up of many smaller fragments. It shows, above, traces of feet, possibly of Assyrian archers, facing right; below is a group, the centre of which is formed by an Assyrian chariot which is charging that of the enemy; the Assyrian driver, two shield bearers and an archer are all in full armour. Below are Elamite dead and a mounted, bearded Assyrian lancer.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, p. 86, no. 45B (= 124804).

PLATE 314

389 London, BM WA 124805; 30.5 × 24.1 cm; fossiliferous limestone.

Head of a horse and part of the lance of its rider; hands, a quiver and part of a body belonging to defeated Elamites.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, p. 86, no. 46C.

PLATE 314

390 London, BM WA 124806; 29.2 × 27.9 cm.

Shows traces of an upper register with the foot of a soldier(?) facing right. Below this, a mounted, beardless Assyrian lancer is accompanied by three soldiers, two of them bearded, all moving right.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, p. 86, no. 45D; Paterson, 1915, pl. 62 upper left.

PLATE 314

391 London, BM WA 121357 (81-2-2, 6); 16.5 × 17.8 cm.

Heads and upper bodies of two Assyrian auxiliary soldiers, both leading a horse, facing right.

PLATE 314

392 London, BM WA 124808; 82.5 × 47 cm.

Fragment made up of smaller fragments, with parts of two registers; above, a man in a cart followed by horses moving towards the left; below, an Assyrian archer on horseback trampling an Elamite archer and pursuing another.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 63 upper left (lower part only).

PLATE 315

393 London, BM WA 122118 (81-2-4, 8); 20.3 × 22.8 cm.

The feet of robed figures from an upper register, moving towards the left, and heads of three figures from a lower register, moving towards the right, with two spears.

PLATE 315

394 London, BM WA 124807; 30.5 × 23 cm.

A mounted, bearded lancer, riding towards the right, and the head of a bearded soldier turned towards the left.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 62 upper middle.

PLATE 315

395 London, BM WA 124810; 31.2 × 18 cm.

Fragment showing parts of two registers, with parts of two figures in fringed coats above and the head of an Elamite archer below, all facing left.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 63 upper right.

PLATE 315

396 London, BM WA 135109; 31 × 29 cm.

Three soldiers with spears and large body-shields; feet of figures in upper register.

Smith, 1875, p. 142.

PLATE 316

397 London, BM WA 124803; 21.6 × 20.3 cm.

Head of an Assyrian cavalry horse, past the head of which an arrow is flying towards two hands raised in supplication. In the field are parts of quivers, a bow, and a lance.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, p. 86, no. 45A; Gadd, 1936, pp. 180–1.

PLATE 316

398 London, BM WA 131125 (81-2-4, 12); 22.8 × 27.9 cm.

Upper parts of three men.

PLATE 316

399 London, BM WA 135123; 50 × 60 cm; fossiliferous limestone.

Feet of figure moving left in upper register; below, battle scene with shield-bearing infantrymen and mounted lancer pursuing fleeing enemies.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 62 upper right.

PLATE 316

400 Istanbul, AM 6332; 17.1 × 12 cm.

Head of an Assyrian soldier wearing a pointed patterned helmet with ear-flaps, holding a large shield with beaded rim and raising his spear to strike; before him, a portion of the crested helmet of another soldier survives. A fragment of a single line of inscription.

1 [The order of battle of Ashurbanipal, king] of Assur, conqueror of [the land of Elam].

Gadd, 1936, pp. 227–8; Kalaç, 1954, pp. 37–40, fig. II; Falkner, 1954–6, p. 416, fig. 9, no. 2.

PLATE 317

401 Reading, Museum and Art Gallery; 14.2 × 12 cm.

Small fragment showing battle scene, parts of Elamite warriors: the head of one who is falling backwards and the torso of an archer survive. Alongside (401a) is a hypothetical reconstruction by D. Opitz of the context of the fragment (= Weidner, 1939, fig. 111).

Weidner, 1939, pp. 146–8, figs 110–1; Pohl, 1951, p. 99; Wäfler, 1975, pl. 30:3 (wrongly attributed).⁷

PLATE 317

402 Rome, Museo Barracco 53; 20 × 19 cm.

Two Elamite archers, both holding a bow and raising one arm towards the left.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 44–5, fig. 40; Pritchard, 1969a, no. 25; Pietrangeli, 1973, p. 48, no. 53; Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980, p. 154.

PLATE 317

403 Istanbul, AM 6335; 22.8 × 13.6 cm.

Fragment showing a bearded soldier holding a whip in his left hand and leading a horse (mostly missing) towards the right. The soldier carries on his back a bow-case topped by a cock's head (see also 351, 417).

Gadd, 1936, pp. 227–8; Kalaç, 1954, pp. 36–7, fig. I; Falkner, 1954–6, pp. 415–6, fig. 9, no. 1.

PLATE 317

404 Istanbul, AM 6336; 14.9 × 15.5 cm.

Parts of two auxiliary soldiers survive; one upright with right arm extended, the other leaning forward.

Kalaç, 1954, p. 43, fig. VI; Falkner, 1954–6, pp. 415–6, fig. 9, no. 6.

PLATE 317 (with detail)

405 Istanbul, AM 6334; 17.7 × 17.4 cm.

Parts of two registers: above, a foot facing right; below, head of an Elamite(?) archer with a palmette quiver-cover (see 382), shooting towards the right.

Gadd, 1936, pp. 227–8; Kalaç, 1954, pp. 42–3, fig. V; Falkner, 1954–6, pp. 415–6, fig. 9, no. 5.

PLATE 317

406 Istanbul, AM 6330; 11.4 × 8.3 cm.

An Elamite mounted soldier is moving towards the right. Only the foreparts of a horse with the reins, the leg of a rider and the foreleg of a second horse survive.

Gadd, 1936, pp. 227–8; Kalaç, 1954, p. 45, fig. VIII; Falkner, 1954–6, pp. 415 f., fig. 9, no. 8.

PLATE 317

407 Istanbul, AM 6331; 20.3 × 17.8 cm.

Upper part of a bearded auxiliary bowman shooting towards the right; the arm, bow and sword of two other soldiers survive.

Gadd, 1936, pp. 227–8; Kalaç, 1954, pp. 41–2, fig. IV; Falkner, 1954–6, pp. 415–6, fig. 9, no. 4.

PLATE 318

408 London, BM AOC 40 (81.12, 26); reported missing in April 1961; 15.9 × 15.9 cm.

Two soldiers on the right, facing right; the one nearer the viewer carries a spear and a large round shield with beaded border.

Barnett, 1962–3, pp. 199–200, fig. 17; Reade, 1967, p. 43.

PLATE 318

409 Istanbul, AM 6333; 17.2 × 9.8 cm.

Assyrian soldier, facing right, raising his round shield to the left.

Kalaç, 1954, p. 50, fig. III; Falkner, 1954–6, pp. 415–6, fig. 9, no. 3.

PLATE 318

410 Cracow, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie (Muzeum XX. Czartoryskich), VII 623; 21 × 17.7 cm.

Two auxiliary archers shoot towards the right; parts of Elamite corpses on the left.

Przeworski, 1928, pp. 84–8; Reade, 1972, pl. XXXVIIIb; Wäfler, 1975, p. 372, pl. 22:1; Barnett, 1976, p. 62, Pl. LXXI (u).

PLATE 318

411 St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, no. ?; dimensions unknown; material not checked.

Small fragment of the upper part of a register or slab(?) showing the head and upper body of an Elamite, facing left.

Nikolsky, 1889, pl. XII:2, pp. 358–9; Barnett, 1976, p. 62, pl. LXXII (dd).

PLATE 319

It has been suggested that the following three pieces (**412–414**) are part of the same scene (Weidner, 1939, pp. 144–6 and fig. 109 showing a similar scene from the North Palace, facing in the opposite direction; Goossens, 1952 and fig. 2; Dolce & Nota Santi, 1995, pp. 226–34 where it is also suggested that **408** might belong to the left of the same scene). Although **413**, **412** and **408** may well be part of the same scene, the attribution of **414** to it must be rejected. Ann Searight's reconstruction on PLATE 319 makes it clear that the correct alignment of the heads of the attendants on **414** and **413** (that on **413** was omitted on Goossens' and Dolce's reconstructions) would mean there were three horses instead of two. Details of hair and fringes are different

and the style of cutting and wear on **414** make it probable that it is not, in fact, of hard fossiliferous limestone; it would therefore have come from Ashurbanipal's North Palace and should be omitted from the present catalogue.

412 Brussels, MRAH O.1930; ex Torquay, Natural History Society to whom it had been presented by Mrs Clayton Daubeny who had been given it by Hormuzd Rassam; 21.6 × 13.3 cm.

The clasped hands of a figure on the left and parts of two spearmen holding large, round, convex shields; probably the king's bodyguard. The clasped hands would belong to the figure on the right of **413**.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 143–6, fig. 108; Goossens, 1952; Dolce & Nota Santi, 1995, p. 230, fig. 107.

PLATE 319

413 Como, Civico Museo Archeologico 'Giovo', no. 1; 34 × 22.8 cm.

Three Assyrian officers, probably in front of the king's chariot; the nose of one of the chariot horses can be seen behind them; above on the left, the last sign, or part of it, of a framed inscription of at least three lines: [...]*za*, or [...]*u**n*.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 62–4, fig. 54; Reade, 1967, p. 43; Dolce & Nota Santi, 1995, pp. 226–31, fig. 105.

PLATE 319

(414) Turin, Museo Egizio, Suppl. no. 10410 (ex Museo d'Antichità 5); 30 × 65 × 7.2 cm; material not checked (see above).

Horse of the royal chariot, facing right, with five rows of tassels round its neck, preceded by four officers, two of them carrying rods.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 60–2, fig. 53; Dolce & Nota Santi, 1995, pp. 232–3, fig. 109.

PLATE 319

415 Istanbul, AM 6338; 14.6 × 30 cm.

Parts of six bearded soldiers with feathered head-dresses: three men follow the royal chariot, identified by the royal sunshade, followed by two men leading horses; traces of another feathered head-dress at the right edge.

Gadd, 1936, pp. 227–8; Kalaç, 1954, p. 49, fig. IX; Falkner, 1954–6, pp. 415–6, fig. 9, no. 9; Calmeyer, 1970, p. 190, no. 3 and fig. 2 (p. 186).

PLATE 320

416 Istanbul, AM 6339; 14.7 × 14.2 cm.

Part of scene in two registers; above, the bare feet of a person moving towards the left; below, the head of a bearded flute-player wearing a feathered head-dress, facing left.

Gadd, 1936, pp. 227–8; Kalaç, 1954, p. 49, fig. X; Falkner, 1954–6, pp. 415–6, fig. 9, no. 10; Calmeyer, 1970, p. 190, no. 4 and fig. 2 (p. 186); Barnett, 1976, p. 56, pl. XLXX (J).

PLATE 320

417 Seattle Art Museum, 57.54; ex Eugene Fuller Collection; ex Jacob Hirsch; ex Darmstadt, coll. Baron Heyl; 20 × 26 × 1.6 cm.

Upper part of an archer leading his horse towards the left (forepart of horse remains); the bow-case is topped by a cock's head (see **403**).

Opitz, 1935, pp. 259–61, fig. 1; Dolce & Nota Santi, 1995, p. 231, fig. 108.

PLATE 320

418 Present location unknown; sold in London in 1993; in New York in 1995; 18.9 × 12.1 cm.

Small fragment showing the upper part of an Elamite archer and part of the body of another. From a photograph in the archives of the WAA Department, British Museum showing the relief with a label attached inscribed 'Assurbanipal' (?) in a 19th- or early 20th-century hand.

Phillips Sale Catalogue, 6 July 1993, lot 25; Royal-Athena Galleries, New York, *No 71 Art of the Ancient World – Volume VIII, Part II – January 1995*, no. 232 ('Ex English Collection').

PLATE 320

418 bis Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum, Burrell Collection 28.73; acquired from Spink and Son, London, 1953; 14.7 × 12.3 cm.

Upper part of an Elamite archer aiming an arrow towards the left.

Peltenburg, 1991, pp. 81–2, no. 52.

419 London, BM WA 135122 (81-2-4, 6) (ex SOC 208); 14 × 37.5 cm; fossiliferous limestone.

Slipperd feet of four robed figures turned towards the left; below, an inscription.

- 1 Defeat of the army of Te-Umma, king [of Elam],
- 2 which, in Til-Tubu [sic], Ashurbanipal,
- 3 king of the world, king of Assyria, without number
- 4 [brought about.] He cast down the corpses [of his warriors].

PLATE 320

420 London, BM WA 139505 (1983-1-1, 48); 13.3 × 15.2 × 6.3 cm. Part of a city wall; branches of two deciduous trees below.

PLATE 320

421 London, BM WA 92273 (Sm. 2318); 47 × 59.7 cm; fossiliferous limestone.

Small fragment from the left end of a slab showing a city wall with three towers and battlements with stepped crenellations; a deciduous tree above. From George Smith's work at Nineveh.

PLATE 320

421 bis London, BM WA 124809; 15 × 17 cm.

Small fragment showing a torture scene above and parts of two heads below. The fettered legs of one victim appear on the left with an Assyrian (head missing) bending over him to flay(?) him; the head and shoulders of another victim, also on the ground, are shown on the right with a hand grasping his lower jaw or beard.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 63 (small fragment below inscriptions).

Notes

- 1 The stone is described by Sennacherib as being *pindu* stone. It came from Mount Nipur (Cudi Dağ) in southeastern Turkey. The white inclusions are small, elongated flecks. See also Appendix 1.
- 2 For the king's name see Hinz & Koch, 1987, I, pp. 313, 321.

3 This episode has been identified by Reade (1979a, p. 99) as depicting Chaldaeans of the Duraru tribe who were compelled (as recorded in the annals) to grind up the bones of their father in Nineveh (see the detail on PLATE 289).

4 Written *tam-ri-i-tū*, a shortened form of Tammaritu, the name also of (a) the son of Urtaku and (b) the son of Ummanigash, attested in various spellings (Streck, 1916, III, pp. 725–6; see also Hinz & Koch, 1987, II, pp. 279 and 278).

5 Madaktu is possibly to be identified with Tepe Patak (de Miroschedji, 1981, p. 174).

6 Reade, 1967, p. 43 and see his comments in n. 6.

7 Wäfler attributes this fragment to slab 6 in Room I of the North Palace (Or.Dr. VII, 11). But as is clear from the drawing, the slab has cracks in this area, whereas the Reading fragment is a single piece. Wäfler was misled by the similar angle of the falling figure.

ROOM XXXIV (MM) (PLATE 321)

This room is parallel to Room XXIX (Z) and is almost of the same size. It has three entrances on each long side, one opposite the other, and an entrance on each narrow side. Entrances *k*, *l* and *e* (355–357) on the northeast side lead into Room XXIX (Z) and Entrance *m* (361) leads into Room XXX (CC). Most of the walls of Room XXXIV (MM) are shown on Layard's plan (PLATE 10) as lined with slabs, but they are not numbered. Room MM is not mentioned in Layard's notebooks but the description he gives of Room PP in *LV 2E*, ff. 34r–33v (which should be Room XXXV according to his plan, PLATE 10) coincides with that given for Room XXXIV (Layard, 1853a, p. 445; the error was corrected in his transcription of his notebooks – see Russell, 1995, p. 82). The sketches of heads in his notebook are illustrated on PLATE 18d and show that the male and female captives wore similar headdresses to those worn by the inhabitants of Lachish; this suggests that the conquest of Lachish shown in Room XXXVI was part of a sequence, probably covering Rooms XXXIV–XXXVII, illustrating Sennacherib's third campaign in 701 BC.

Three similar doorways opened into a parallel chamber of the same length, though rather narrower. Its walls had been ornamented with carved alabaster slabs, of which a few fragments remained. A fortified camp, containing the usual pavilions and tents; priests sacrificing a sheep before a fire altar; a castle on the sea-shore; double-banked galleys hung round with shields; and long lines of captives (the women wearing hoods fitting close over their heads, and falling to their feet behind – the men turbans of several folds, such as are frequently represented at Khorsabad); were amongst the bas-reliefs still preserved.

Three doorways on the western side of this chamber, similar to those on the eastern, led into as many distinct rooms unconnected with each other. There were thus three magnificent portals, one behind the other, each formed by winged bulls facing the same way, and all looking towards the great hall; the largest colossi, those in front, being above 18 feet high, and the smallest, those leading into the inner chamber, about 12. It would be difficult to conceive any interior architectural arrangement more imposing than this triple group of gigantic forms as seen in perspective by those who stood in the centre of the hall, dimly lighted from above, and harmoniously colored or overlaid, like the cherubims in the temple of Solomon, with gold. (Layard, 1853a, p. 445)

Layard, *LN 2E*, ff. 34r–33v; Paterson, 1915, p. 9; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 69–70 (reconstruction); Russell, 1991, pp. 63, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 82.

422 Slab (?): Or.Dr. IV, XXI Miscellaneous; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, on brownish paper; 32 × 23 cm.

Annotation in pencil: *'Altar & sacrifice of a king'*.

The left part of these sketches shows an altar with a base resting on cone-like pointed feet, terminating in hooves, supporting a column; the column shows a voluted capital with rosettes above. The upper part of the altar is formed like a city wall fortified with turrets and battlements. On the right half of this drawing a man is slaughtering a sheep, while a priest is standing before an incense-burner and an offering table. This scene is probably that described by Layard (1853a, p. 445). All other sacrifices in Assyrian camps, as far as they are known at present, are differently represented (see Bleibtreu, 1983, pp. 43–52).

The altar is reproduced in an unsigned engraving in Layard, 1853a, p. 444.

PLATE 321

423 Entrance *a* leading into Room XXXV (PP).

424 Entrance *b* leading into Room XXXVI (OO), the Lachish Room; lined with bull colossi.

Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 29, 31, no. 19.

425 Entrance *c* leading into Room XXXVII (NN).

426 Entrance *d* leading into Room XXXVIII (V), consisting of 'two colossal figures on each side facing south [i.e. into Room XXXIV] – the first figure probably entirely human and the second with hooves of a bull' (Russell, 1995, p. 80 which clarifies the ambiguous statement in *LN 2C*, f. 11r).

ROOM XXXV (PP)

This room flanks the famous Lachish Room on its southeast side. The only entrance leading into it is Entrance *a* (**423**) from Room XXXIV (MM). It was not explored by Layard, and its decoration remains hypothetical. The description in *LN 2E*, ff. 34r–33v refers to Room XXXIV (MM). The decoration of the large Room XXXIV, as well as that of the three small rooms opening off it (XXXV–XXXVII) were most probably dedicated to the same campaign.

Layard, 1853a, p. 445; Paterson, 1915, p. 9; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Ussishkin, 1982, p. 69; Russell, 1991, pp. 64, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 82 where the entry was left blank by Layard.

ROOM XXXVI (OO) (PLATES 322–352)

The only entrance leading into this most famous room, representing the siege of the Judean city of Lachish, is Entrance

b (**424**), which was flanked by bull-colossi. From Court XIX (U) the siege of Lachish was visible through a line of three doorways, each flanked by colossal bulls. This was certainly a striking illustration of the king's military might and of his success in campaigning. All visitors must have been impressed by this demonstration of power. This small room is particularly famous because slabs 5–13, which survive in a relatively well-preserved state, illustrate the siege of an important city known from the Bible.

During the latter part of my residence at Mosul a chamber was discovered in which the sculptures were in better preservation than any before found at Kouyunjik. ([Footnote:] No. XXXVI. Plan I. 38 feet by 18). Some of the slabs, indeed, were almost entire, though cracked and otherwise injured by fire; and the epigraph, which fortunately explained the event portrayed, was complete.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 148–9)

While these explorations were being carried on at Kouyunjik and Nimroud, I employed my time in the removal of some sculptures from the Palace of Sennacherib discovered by Mr Layard, which the trustees of the British Museum wished to have sent to England. The most important of these were the bas-reliefs called 'The Siege of Lachish'.

(Rassam, 1897, p. 7)

Layard, 1853a, pp. 148–153; Layard, 1853b, pls 20–24; Paterson, 1915, p. 9, pls 68–76; Gadd, 1936, p. 174; Barnett, 1958b; Yadin, 1963, pp. 428–37 (sequence of slabs); Wäfler, 1975, pp. 42, n. 174, 369–70; Ussishkin, 1978, pp. 1–91 (siege ramp, pp. 67–74); Reade, 1979a, pp. 89, 91–5; Ussishkin, 1980, pp. 174–95 (sequence of slabs); Vogel & Holtzclaw, 1981, pp. 52–3; Keel & Küchler, 1982, pp. 893–903 (new drawings of the whole series of reliefs); Ussishkin, 1982; Vogel, 1987, pp. 37–8 (bibliography of excavations at Tell ed-Duweir); Mitchell, 1988, no. 27 (outline drawing of slabs 5–16); Russell, 1991, pp. 64, 200–9, fig. 108 (sequence of slabs), 341; Russell, 1995, p. 82.

427 Slabs 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 (corner): No drawing or originals known; according to Layard's transcript (Russell, 1995, p. 82) 'apparently King in chariot receiving prisoners and warriors leading horses'.

Layard, 1853a, p. 149; Wäfler, 1975, p. 42, n. 173.

428–432 Concerning Slabs 5–11, Layard writes:

These bas-reliefs represented the siege and capture by the Assyrians, of a city evidently of great extent and importance. It appears to have been defended by double walls, with battlements and towers, and by fortified outworks. The country around it was hilly and wooded, producing the fig and the vine. The whole power of the great king seems to have been called forth to take this stronghold. In no other sculptures were so many armed warriors seen drawn up in array before a besieged city. In the first rank were the kneeling archers, those in the second were bending forward, whilst those in the third discharged their arrows standing upright, and were mingled with spearmen and slingers; the whole forming a compact and organised phalanx. The reserve consisted of large bodies of horsemen and charioteers. Against the fortifications had been thrown up as many as ten banks or mounts, compactly built of stones, bricks, earth, and branches of trees, and seven battering-rams had already been rolled up to the walls. The besieged defended themselves with great determination. Spearmen, archers, and slingers thronged the battlements and towers, showering

arrows, javelins, stones, and blazing torches upon the assailants. On the battering-rams were bowmen discharging their arrows, and men with large ladles pouring water upon the flaming brands, which, hurled from above, threatened to destroy the engines. Ladders, probably used for escalade, were falling from the walls upon the soldiers who mounted the inclined ways to the assault. Part of the city had, however, been taken. Beneath its walls were seen Assyrian warriors impaling their prisoners, and from the gateway of an advanced tower, or fort, issued a procession of captives, reaching to the presence of the king, who, gorgeously arrayed, received them seated on his throne. Amongst the spoil were furniture, arms, shields, chariots, vases of metal of various forms, camels, carts drawn by oxen, and laden with women and children, and many objects the nature of which cannot be determined. The vanquished people were distinguished from the conquerors by their dress, those who defended the battlements wore a pointed helmet, differing from that of the Assyrian warriors in having a fringed lappet falling over the ears. Some of the captives had a kind of turban with one end hanging down to the shoulder, not unlike that worn by the modern Arabs of the Hedjaz. Others had no head-dress, and short hair and beards. Their garments consisted either of a robe reaching to the ankles, or of a tunic scarcely falling lower than the thigh, and confined at the waist by a girdle. The latter appeared to be the dress of the fighting-men. The women wore long shirts, with an outer cloak thrown, like the veil of modern Eastern ladies, over the back of the head and falling to the feet.

Several prisoners were already in the hands of the torturers. Two were stretched naked on the ground to be flayed alive, others were being slain by the sword before the throne of the king.
(Layard, 1853a, pp. 149–50)

428–429 Slabs 5 + 6:¹ On slab 5 two rows of Assyrian slingers and archers in pairs, and a third row of archers, are represented in mountainous country with vines and pomegranate trees. Both Assyrian and auxiliary soldiers are represented, among them probably Ellipians from southwestern Iran (slab 5 bottom right), who had been conscripted into the Assyrian army (see Reade, 1976, pp. 98–9, fig. 2). On slab 6 two rows of Assyrian spearmen with round shields attack towards the right; above, feet of archers; on the right is the left side of city with the beginning of the assault on the siege ramp.²
Layard, 1853b, pl. 20 (5 + 6 left); Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 76–8, 80; Eph'al, 1984, pp. 60–70.

428a–429a Or.Dr. I, 58; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard; 44.3 × 67.3 cm (34 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'Nos. 4. 5 & pt of 6. [actually 5 and 6a] Ch. OO. Kouyunjik'; 'Trees & Mountains to be reduced to same size as in No 11 & 12' (A.H.L.); miscopied in ink: '45 and part of 46'.

For the right part of slab 6, see **430a**.

Reade, 1983, p. 47, fig. 65; Russell, 1991, p. 203, fig. 109.

PLATES 3 2 4, 3 2 8 and see 3 3 0

428b Alternative drawing of slab 5: Or.Dr. II, 15; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, spotted with yellow, probably by C. D. Hodder;³ 34 × 51.9 cm (45.1 cm); fragments numbered: 1–89.

Annotation in ink: 'Key Sketch. Sennacherib Chamber No XII.'; annotations in pencil: 'Key Sketch to Slab No XII' (the number is overwritten in a darker pencil).

PLATE 3 2 6

428c Original of slab 5 in London, BM WA 124904 (56-9-9, 14–15); 201 × 239 × 15 cm.

The upper row of trees shown on drawing **428a** is missing on **428b** and **428c**.

Paterson, 1915, pls 68–9; Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 77, 79; Russell, 1991, p. 203, fig. 109.

PLATE 3 2 5

429b Alternative drawing of slab 6: Or.Dr. II, 14; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by C. D. Hodder; 37.1 × 51.4 cm (42.5 cm); fragments numbered: 1–81.

Annotation in ink: 'Key Sketch. Sennacherib Chamber No XI'; annotations in pencil: 'No XI'; 'Key Sketch Slab No 11'.

PLATE 3 2 7

429c Original of slab 6 in London, BM WA 124905 (56-9-9, 14–15); 178 × 228.6 × 15 cm; gypsum.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 69; Barnett, 1958, pl. 30A (6 right + 7 left); Pritchard, 1969a, no. 372; Mierzejewski, 1973, pp. 17–18, fig. 9; Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 77, 81.

PLATES 3 2 9 and see 3 2 5 (6 left), 3 3 1 (6 right), (detail) 3 4 9

430–431 Slabs 7 + 8: Attack on the city of Lachish, storming the city with the help of siege-engines and ramps (see n. 2). Double walls, fortified with turrets and battlements, showing square windows and shields on top. Spoil and deportees with a camel⁴ are advancing in two rows to right. The city is situated in hilly country with vines and other fruit trees. The male deportees wear the characteristic, presumably Judaeian, head-dress with hanging flap; see also **163–167**.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 21 (6 right + 7 + 8 left); Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, p. 489, fig. 219 (detail of slab 7); Ball, 1899, p. 190 (detail of slab 8); Paterson, 1915, pl. 77 (6 right + 7 + 8 left); Meissner, 1920a, Abb. 66 (7 right + 8 left); Yadin, 1963, p. 327 (detail of slab 8); Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 73–4, 76–7, 82, 84.

430a–431a Or.Dr. I, 59; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed A. H. Layard; 43.3 × 67.6 cm (66.2 cm); scale given: 2 in. = 1 ft. (1:6). Annotations in pencil: 'Nos. 7 & 8 & part of 6. Ch. OO Kouyunjik' (the numbers replace pencilled and erased '6 & 7 and part of 8'; in ink: 'Nos. 7 and part of 8.' Slab 6b, the right part of slab 6 (see **429** and note 1), is included on this drawing; for the right part of slab 8, see **432a–434a**.

Reade, 1983, p. 47, fig. 66; Russell, 1991, pp. 204–5, fig. 110.

PLATES 3 3 0, 3 3 2 and see also 3 2 8

430b Alternative drawing of slab 7: Or.Dr. II, 13; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on whitish paper; 37.8 × 47.6 cm (35.5 cm); fragments numbered: 1–32.

Annotation in ink: 'Key Sketch Sennacherib Chamber No X.'; annotations in pencil: 'Key Sketch No X'; '10'.

Ussishkin, 1982, p. 75 (right side missing).

PLATE 3 3 4

430c Original of slab 7 in London, BM WA 124906 (56-9-9, 14–15); 167.6 × 190.5 × 15 cm.

Paterson, 1901–11, pl. LXVIII (detail of slab 7); Paterson, 1915, pl. 70; Barnett, 1958b, pl. 30A (6 right + 7 left); Pritchard, 1969a, no. 373; Barnett, 1970, pl. VI (detail); Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, p. 78 (detail); Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 77, 83, 85; Reade, 1983, p. 50, fig. 71 (detail of slab 7).

PLATES 333 and see 329 (7 left), 333 (7 right), (details) 331, 334, 349, 350, 351

431b Alternative drawing of slab 8: Or.Dr. II, 12; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on whitish paper; 38.3 × 35.5 cm (35.5 cm); scale given: *2-1/4 to the foot* (1:5.3); fragments numbered: 1–36.

Annotation in ink: *'Key Sketch Sennacherib Chamber No IX'*; annotations in pencil: *'Key Sketch to Slab No IX'*; '9'.

PLATE 335

431c Original of slab 8 in London, BM WA 124907 (56-9-9, 14-15); 182.8 × 193 × 15 cm.

Paterson, 1901–11, pl. LV (detail); Paterson, 1915, pls 71–2; Hall, 1928, pl. XXXIV (detail); Barnett, 1958b, pl. 31B (detail of slabs 8–9); Barnett & Forman, n.d., p. 28, pls 44–5 (details); Yadin, 1963, p. 301 (detail); Bulliet, 1975, fig. 32; Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 77, 85; Russell, 1991, p. 164, fig. 84 (detail of slabs 8–9).

PLATES 333 and see 331 (8 left), 337 (8 right), (details) 325, 341, 351, 352

432–434 Slabs 9 + 10 (corner) + 11: Two rows of deportees are advancing towards the right; in the lower row, two men of the city are being tortured by Assyrian soldiers; above are represented wooded hills with various fruit trees, and there is a row of vines and pomegranate trees at the bottom.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 22 (8 left + 9 + 10 left); Ball, 1899, p. 192 (details of slabs 10–12 combined); Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 76–7, 84, 86.

432a–434a Or.Dr. I, 60; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard; 44.1 × 67 cm (62 cm).

Annotations in pencil: *'Nos 9 & 10 Chamber OO Kouyunjik'*; *'The trees & mountains to be reduced to the same size as in Nos. 11 & 12'*.

This drawing includes the right half of slab 8 (**431**). Reade, 1983, p. 48, fig. 68; Russell, 1991, p. 206, fig. 111.

PLATES 336, 338

432b Alternative drawing of slab 9: Or.Dr. II, 11; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on whitish paper; 52.5 × 37.8 cm (33.5 cm); fragments numbered: 1–98.

Annotation in ink: *'Key Sketch Sennacherib Chamber No VIII'*; annotations in pencil: *'No VIII'*; '8'; part of a scale trimmed off the bottom.

PLATE 340

432c Original of slab 9 in London, BM WA 124908 (56-9-9, 14); 269 × 180.3 × 15 cm.

Paterson, 1901–11, pl. LVI (detail); Paterson, 1915, pl. 72; Hall, 1928, pl. XXXV (detail); Barnett, 1958b, pl. 31B (detail of slabs 8–9); Barnett & Forman, n.d., p. 28, pls 45–6 (details); Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975,

pp. 81 (left), 82 (details); Wäfler, 1975, pl. 2:2 (detail); Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 77, 85, 87; Reade, 1983, p. 50, fig. 72 (detail).

PLATE 337 and see 333 (9 left), 339 (9 right), (details) 323, 329, 333, 336, 352

433b Alternative drawing of slab 10: Or.Dr. II, 10; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on whitish paper; 49.7 × 36.2 cm (22 cm); fragments numbered: 1–49.

Annotation in ink: *'Key Sketch Sennacherib Chamber No VII'*; annotations in pencil: *'Key Sketch No VII'*; 'No 7'; 'Corner portion'.

PLATE 340

433c Original of slab 10 (corner) in London, BM WA 124909 (56-9-9, 14–15); 254.8 × 101.6 × 15 cm.

Paterson, 1901–11, pl. LV (detail); Paterson, 1915, pls 72–3; Unger, 1926a, p. 114, pl. 81 (detail); Barnett & Forman, n.d., p. 28, pl. 46 (detail); Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, pp. 79, 81 (right) (details); Wäfler, 1975, pl. 2:1 (detail); Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 77, 87.

PLATES 339, (details) 323, 329, 333

434b Alternative drawing of slab 11: Or.Dr. II, 9; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on whitish paper; 51.4 × 34.9 cm (24.4 cm); fragments numbered: 1–45.

Annotations in ink: *'Key Sketch Sennacherib Chamber No VI. Lachish'*; 'No 6'; annotation in pencil: *'Key Sketch No VI'*; 'No 6'.

PLATE 341

434c Original of slab 11 in London, BM WA 124910 (56-9-9, 14–15); 256.8 × 134.6 × 15.2 cm.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 73; Barnett, 1958, pl. 31A (detail of slabs 11–12); Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, p. 80 (left, detail); Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 77, 87.

PLATE 339

433–439 Concerning slabs 12–16, Layard writes:

The haughty monarch was receiving the chiefs of the conquered nation, who crouched and knelt humbly before him. They were brought into the royal presence by the Tartan of the Assyrian forces, probably the Rabshakeh himself, followed by his principal officers. The general was clothed in embroidered robes, and wore on his head a fillet adorned with rosettes and long tasseled bands.

The throne of the king stood upon an elevated platform, probably an artificial mound, in the hill country. Its arms and sides were supported by three rows of figures one above the other. The wood was richly carved, or encased in embossed metal, and the legs ended in pine-shaped ornaments, probably of bronze. The throne, indeed, appears to have resembled, in every respect, one discovered in the northwest palace at Nimroud ... Over the high back was thrown an embroidered cloth, doubtless of some rare and beautiful material.

The royal feet rested upon a high footstool of elegant form, fashioned like the throne, and cased with embossed metal; the legs ending in lion's paws. Behind the king were two attendant eunuchs raising fans above his head, and holding the embroidered napkins. The monarch himself was attired in long loose robes richly ornamented, and edged with tassels and fringes. In his right hand he raised two arrows, and his left rested upon a bow; an attitude, probably denoting triumph over his enemies, and in which he is usually portrayed when receiving prisoners after a victory.

Behind the king was the royal tent or pavilion: and beneath him were his led horses, and an attendant on foot carrying the parasol, the emblem of royalty. His two chariots with their charioteers, were waiting for him. One had a peculiar semicircular ornament of considerable size, rising from the pole between the horses, and spreading over their heads. It may originally have contained the figure of a deity, or some mythic symbol. It was attached to the chariot by that singular contrivance joined to the yoke and represented in the early sculptures of Nimroud, the use and nature of which I am still unable to explain. This part of the chariot was richly adorned with figures and ornamental designs, and appeared to be supported by a prop resting on the pole. The trappings of the horses were handsomely decorated, and an embroidered cloth, hung with tassels, fell on their chests. Two quivers, holding a bow, a hatchet, and arrows, were fixed to the side of the chariot.
(Layard, 1853a, pp. 150–1)

435–436 Slabs 12 + 13: The king sitting on his throne on a hill in front of his large tent, receiving his officers as they bring deportees and the spoil of Lachish before him. Inscriptions in front of the king and over his tent. At the foot of the hill, Sennacherib's chariot is awaiting him, soldiers with led horses behind; above this scene, hills wooded with various fruit trees.

Inscription above the prisoners:

- 1 Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria,
- 2 set up a throne and
- 3 the booty of Lachish
- 4 passed before him.

Inscription over the tent:

- 1 Tent
- 2 of Sennacherib,
- 3 king of Assyria.

Layard, 1853b, pls 23 (10 right–13 left), 24 (13 right–16); Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, pp. 517–20, fig. 237; Ball, 1899, p. 193 (10 right–13 left); Meissner, 1920a, Abb. 117 (detail of slab 12).

435a–436a Or.Dr. I, 61; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard; 43.8 × 66.8 cm (48.5 cm).

Annotations in pencil: '*Nos. 11. 12. Ch. OO Kouyunjik*'.

The left side of corner slab 14 (437) is also shown.

Reade, 1983, p. 49, fig. 69; Russell, 1991, p. 206, fig. 112.

PLATE 342

435b Alternative drawing of slab 12: Or.Dr. II, 8; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by C. D. Hodder; 52 × 38.4 cm (33.6 cm); fragments numbered: 1–86.

Annotation in ink: '*Key Sketch Sennacherib Chamber No V. Lachish –*'; annotation in pencil: '*Key Sketch No V*'; '*No 5*'.

Reade, 1993, p. 46, fig. 9.

PLATE 344

435c Original of slab 12 in London, BM WA 124911 (56-9-9, 14–15); 251.5 × 178 × 15 cm.

Paterson, 1901–11, pl. LXIX (detail); Paterson, 1915, pls 74–5, 78; Budge, 1922, p. 49, pl. 19; Frankfort, 1954, pls 371, 374 (parts); Barnett, 1958b, pls 31A, 32A (details); Barnett, 1970, pls IV–V; Barnett & Lorenzini, 1975, pls 76–7, 80 (details); Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980,

pp. 85–6, nos 33a–b (details); Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 77, 89; Reade, 1983, p. 51, fig. 73 (detail); Magen, 1986, p. 160; Russell, 1991, p. 125, fig. 66 (detail of slabs 12–13).

PLATES 343, (details) 335, 339, 345

436b Alternative drawing of slab 13: Or.Dr. II, 7; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by C. D. Hodder; 50.8 × 35.5 cm (27.6 cm); fragments numbered: 1–40.

Annotations in pencil: '*Key Sketch in one of the Series of Sculptured Slabs in the Sennacherib Chamber*'; '*continued in cases No IV*'; '*No 4*'.

PLATE 344

436c Original of slab 13 in London, BM WA 124912 (56-9-9, 14–15); 236.2 × 134.6 × 15 cm.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 75; Pritchard, 1969a, no. 374 (detail); Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 77, 89 (right), 91 (left); Russell, 1991, p. 122, fig. 62, p. 125, fig. 66 (details).

PLATES 343, (details) 345

437–439 Slabs 14 (corner) + 15 + 16:

A chariot typical of the ninth century with, below, two soldiers leading horses towards the left; a fortified Assyrian camp with a sacrifice taking place, and three rows of tents, in hilly wooded country.

Layard, 1853a, pl. 24 (13 right + 14 + 15 + 16).

437a–439a Or.Dr. I, 62; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed A. H. Layard; 43.6 × 66.8 cm (39.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*No 13. Ch. OO Kouyunjik*'; '*Mountains to be added*'.

For the left side of corner slab 14 see **435a–436a** above.

Reade, 1983, p. 49, fig. 70; Russell, 1991, p. 207, fig. 113; SAA IV, cover (detail); SAA VI, fig. 12 (detail).

PLATE 346

437b Original of corner slab 14 in London, BM WA 124913 (56-9-9, 14–15); 264.1 × 111.8 × 15 cm.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 75; Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 77, 91 (centre); Wolff, 1936–7, pp. 231–4 (chariot); Littauer & Crouwel, 1979, pp. 104, n. 23, p. 106, n. 32 (chariot); Madhloom, 1970, pp. 20–1, pl. VI:2 (chariot).

PLATES 343 (14 left), 347 (14 right), (detail) 348

438b Original of slab 15 in London, BM WA 124914 (56-9-9, 14–15); 233.6 × 116.8 × 15 cm.

Paterson, 1901–11, pls XCV–XCVI (camp only); Paterson, 1915, pl. 76 (left); Unger, 1926, pp. 203–4, pl. 43a (camp only); Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 77, 93 (left).

PLATES 347, (detail) 348

439b Original of slab 16 in London, BM WA 124915 (56-9-9, 14–15); 172.7 × 61 × 15 cm.

The design continues onto the edge of the slab forming the corner of the recess beside Entrance *b* (424).

Paterson, 1901–11, pls XCV–XCVI (camp only); Paterson, 1915, pl. 76 (right); Unger, 1925, pp. 203–4, pl. 43a (camp only); Ussishkin, 1982, pp. 77, 93 (right).

PLATES 347, (detail) 348

Notes

1 Layard designated these slabs '4, 5 & pt of 6,' but since the left-hand slab in his drawing is BM WA 124904 (428c), which meets the adjacent one on the same plane, and slab 4 on his plan (PLATE 10) forms a corner with it, the slabs in Or.Dr. I, 58 are presumably only 5 + 6. The slab divisions followed in this volume are those of the actual sculptures on exhibition in the British Museum. In some instances these differ from those in the drawings and implied in the numbering on Layard's plan, but this is partly because Layard ignored the slab divisions in order to include main elements of the composition in complete drawings, e.g. the whole city in Or.Dr. I, 59 (429a–431a), and the whole of the hill with Sennacherib and his tent in Or. I, 61, which includes the left-hand part of corner slab 14 (435a–437a). The same principle was followed, with variations in *Monuments of Nineveh* II. That the present slab divisions are largely the same as those found *in situ* is suggested by Hodder's drawings (the alternative drawings or 'Key Sketches' reproduced here). Slabs 10 and 11 are given a single number by Layard ('10'), but the division is clearly shown in Hodder's drawings 433b and 434b, and though none of his drawings survives of slabs 14–16, which according to Layard comprise one slab only, numbered '13', the fact that there are three numbers lacking in Hodder's sequence (III–I) strongly suggests that there were three slabs and not one when he drew them. The question therefore arises whether Layard had his slabs '10' and '13' sawn into smaller sections for ease of transportation before Hodder drew them, or whether he simply bracketed 10 + 11 and 14 + 15 + 16 for convenience of reference. If they had been whole slabs they would certainly have been very wide – '10' (10 + 11), c. 264 × 236 cm; '13' (14 + 15 + 16), c. 264 × 289 cm – but their fragmentary state, as shown by Hodder's drawings, suggests that it would have been very difficult to saw them into smaller sections without causing them to fall apart, and it seems, in any case, that when they were moved (by Rassam) the fragments were packed separately, Hodder's numbered drawings being used as a guide to their reassembly in the Museum (Gadd, 1936, p. 174). There would therefore have been no need to saw the slabs into smaller sections, so it seems more likely that Layard's slabs '10' and '13' were paper abstractions. Ussishkin (1982, p. 76 and *passim*) rennumbers the surviving slabs I–XII. The following is a concordance of the different numbering systems:

This Volume

Slab	Cat.	BM No.	Layard	Hodder	Ussishkin	Paterson	Russell
5	428	124904	4 + 5	XII	I	5	5 + 6
6	429	124905	6	XI	II	6/7	7
7	430	124906	7	X	III	7	7
8	431	124907	8	IX	IV	8	8
9	432	124908	9	VIII	V	9	9
10	433	124909	10	VII	VI	10	10
11	434	124910	10	VI	VII	10	10
12	435	124911	11	V	VIII	11	11
13	436	124912	12	IV	IX	12	12
14	437	124913	13	X	X	13	13
15	438	124914	13	XI	XI	13	13
16	439	124915	13	XII	XII	13	13

2 The city is evidently being attacked at a corner where the defenders could only employ about half the resistance that could be mustered against an attack on a straight sector of the wall. A ramp excavated at Tell ed-Duweir consisted of a construction of layers of medium-sized stones, packed and covered with earth, and is probably to be identified with that shown in the reliefs, as first suggested by Yadin. See Eph'al, 1984; Ussishkin, 1978, pp. 67–74; Teller, 1983–4, pp. 13–14.

3 Apart from this, 430b and 435b, Hodder's key sketches have only been mentioned by Gadd, 1936, p. 174, and have never previously been published. These key sketches could be of value for establishing which are the original fragments and what is reconstruction.

4 Camels, all with one hump (*Camelus dromedarius*), appear on the following reliefs: 76, 214, 312, 430, 473, 475, 477, 553. See Barnett, 1985.

ROOM XXXVII (NN)

The only entrance into this room is Entrance c (425) from Room XXXIV (MM). According to Layard (1853a, p. 445), the walls had been almost entirely destroyed. This room is not mentioned in Layard's notebooks, but does appear in his transcript (Russell, 1995, p. 82) and is numbered on all his plans. As already mentioned, this entire suite was probably dedicated to Sennacherib's third campaign, his march through Phoenicia to Palestine.

ROOM XXXVIII (V) (PLATES 353–367)

This room has two entrances on its southeast side, Entrance d (426) leading from Room XXXIV (MM), and Entrance f (358) from Room XXIX (Z), and two on its northwest side into XXXIX (Y). Layard has numbered 24 slabs on his plan of this room (PLATE 10). All of them represent a broad river amidst wooded hills, the impression of a valley being given by inverted trees and hills on one side of the stream, the spectator being imagined as looking at this valley from above (see Reade, 1980, p. 71). The army is advancing along the course of a broad river, presumably flowing to the left since the tributaries come in from the right and the river narrows further to the right on 448. These left-bank tributaries would be appropriate to the River Tigris.¹ The slabs at the northeastern end of the room were 'destroyed' (see 451). T. C. Mitchell has suggested that 724, 725 and 727 may have come from this room.

The Assyrian army was seen fording a broad river amidst wooded mountains. The sculptor had endeavored to convey the idea of a valley by reversing the trees and mountains on one side of the stream. Rivulets flowed from the hills to the river, irrigating in their course vineyards and orchards. The king in his chariot was followed by a long retinue of warriors on foot and on horses richly caparisoned, by led horses with even gayer trappings, and by men bearing on their shoulders his second chariot, which had a yoke ornamented with bosses and carvings. He was preceded by his army, the variously accoutred spearmen and the bowmen forming separate regiments or divisions. After crossing the river they attacked the enemy's strongholds, which they captured one by one, putting to death or carrying into captivity their inhabitants. Unfortunately, the bas-reliefs describing the general result of the campaign, and probably the taking of the principal city, had been destroyed. Over one of the castles could be traced a few letters, giving no clue, however, to its name or site [451]. The captives wore a kind of turban wrapped in several folds round the head, and a short tunic confined at the waist by a broad belt. From the nature of the country it may be conjectured that the sculptures represented a campaign in some part of Armenia, and I am inclined to identify the river

with the Euphrates, near whose head-waters, as we learn from the bull inscriptions, Sennacherib waged one of his most important wars.

The slabs at the western end of this chamber were actually curved backwards, showing the enormous pressure that must have taken place from the falling in of the upper part of the building, by which not only the alabaster was bent, but driven into the wall of sundried bricks.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 342–3)

Layard, 1853a, pp. 341–3, 440; Paterson, 1915, pp. 9–10; Gadd, 1936, pp. 178, 225, 251; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 64, 341.

440 Slabs 1 + 2: Not drawn; probably represented the Assyrian army marching through wooded mountainous country.

441–443 Slabs 3 + 4 + 5 (corner): The surviving lower right part of slab 3 bears the beginning of a scene showing a row of Assyrian soldiers advancing towards the right, marching through mountainous country with vines and pomegranate trees; on slab 4 they reach the bank of a slightly meandering river and apparently wade along it, leading four richly caparisoned horses; vines grow on the right bank of a small tributary, and the wooded hills are inverted on its left bank; slab 5 is represented as quite narrow in the drawing, but since slab 6 (444) appears to continue the scene without a break, this is presumably because slab 5 was a corner slab and had to fit the space. On it, led horses and soldiers are represented marching along the river bed, and the hills and trees of its left bank are inverted.

441a–443a Or.Dr. I, 40; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, on light brown paper enhanced with white; 43.2 × 66.7 cm (56.5 cm).

Annotations in pencil: '*Nos. 3. 4. 5 Chamber V Kouyunjik*' (repeated in ink with the room reference first); in right margin: '*Breast band of horses*' (with sketch).

Gadd, 1936, p. 178, pl. 18 lower.

PLATE 354

442b Small fragment of slab 4 in London, BM WA 123339; 52 × 50.8 cm.

Two Assyrian soldiers carry the pole and the decorated yoke for the four-horse royal chariot, preceded by two officers (cf. the yoke on 431). Gadd, 1936, pp. 178, 225, pl. 18 upper;

Littauer, 1976, pp. 218–26, pl. XII, fig. 22.

PLATE 355

444 Slabs 6 + 7: The upper part of these slabs was mostly defaced. They probably showed wooded hills like those on the right part of slab 7, in continuation of the scene on slabs 3–5. A richly dressed figure on horseback and a row of spearmen with round shields are represented wading towards the right along the river bed; all the wooded hills on the lower part of the slabs are inverted; another small tributary joins the river from the inverted hills. For a fragment which might be from the destroyed part of slab 7 see 462.

444a Or.Dr. I, 41; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, on light brownish paper, enhanced with black and white; 43.2 × 66.7 cm (55.8 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Nos. 6. 7. Chamber V Kouyunjik*'.

PLATE 356

445 Slabs 8 + 9 (corner): The valley and broad river continue, with wooded hills on both sides, and a third small tributary originates beyond the hills from a high valley; all the hills and trees on the left bank are inverted. Led horses and soldiers are following the king's chariot along the bank of the river (the lower part of his sunshade survives); a row of spearmen marches in front.

Layard, 1853a, p. 341 (woodcut signed S.W.); Paterson, 1915, pl. 79 top; Unger, 1927, p. 120, fig. 64; Porada, 1945, p. 155; Hrouda, 1965, pl. 53:1; Magen, 1986, p. 160.

445a Or.Dr. I, 42; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on light brown paper, enhanced with white; 42.5 × 65.8 cm (47.6 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Nos. 8. 9. Chamber V Kouyunjik*'.

Reade, 1980, pl. 1b.

PLATE 357 with detail

446 Slabs 10, 11: The Assyrian army is marching towards the right, apparently now along the bank of the broad, slightly meandering river. There are spearmen with large round convex shields, archers in front of them, and auxiliary spearmen with crested helmets; two more small tributaries are shown as originating beyond the hills at the bottom. 'Slab' 10 appears to consist of two slabs. Slab 11 clearly does not join it, though it is adjacent in the drawing, so presumably only the right half was preserved; for a fragment perhaps from the left half see 462.

446a Or.Dr. I, 43; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on light brown paper, enhanced with white; 43.4 × 67.6 (10: 47.3 cm; 11: 17.8 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Nos. 10. 11 Chamber V Kouyunjik*'.

PLATES 358, 359

447 Entrance *i* leading into Room XXXIX (Y).

On the north side of the chamber were two doorways leading into separate apartments. Each entrance was formed by two colossal bas-reliefs of Dagon, or the fish god. Unfortunately the upper part of all these figures had been destroyed, but as the lower remained from above the waist we can have no difficulty in restoring the whole, especially as the same image is seen entire on a fine Assyrian cylinder of agate in my possession [BM WA 105122]. It combined the human shape with that of the fish. The head of the fish formed a mitre above that of the man, whilst its scaly back and fanlike tail fell as a cloak behind, leaving the human limbs and feet exposed. The figure wore a fringed tunic, and bore the two sacred emblems, the basket and the cone.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 343)

See Green, 1986b for a discussion of the fish-cloaked figure.

Behind the fish-cloaked figures were reliefs continuing the scene in Room XXXIX (Y).

447a Or.Dr. IV, 76; unsigned pencil drawing on light brownish paper; 30.2 × 44.8 cm (24.4 cm), scale of 1-1/2 inches = 1 ft. (1:8) ruled at the bottom.

Annotation in pencil: 'Entrance 3. Chamber V-Kouyunjik'. 'Entrance 3' can be identified as Entrance *i* thanks to Layard's plan (PLATE 7).

PLATE 3 6 0

447b Watercolour by Malan (f. 30, no. 113).

Annotation in pencil: 'Kouyunjik. June 15th 1850'; annotation on the back: 'This and every other sketch of Nineveh, made by me on the spot, in June 1850, is to be placed at the disposal of Mr Layard for him to publish or otherwise use it in any way he thinks proper, on the sole condition of his returning the sketches when he no longer requires them.' Mosul, June 15th 1850. S. C. Malan; 29.5 × 22.2 cm.

This is clearly the same slab as that shown in **447a** but the slab to the right is preserved to its full height and this is not the case with slab 12 as depicted in **447a**. However, as Malan has shown the upper part of the slab to be thinner than the lower, it may be that the full height of both slabs 12 and 13 was preserved at the time of his sketch but that the surface of 12 had flaked away under the pressure described by Layard (see above) and may, by the time it was drawn, have disintegrated completely. The right side of the niche in slab 14 is visible beyond.

Layard, 1853a, opp. p. 343 (lithograph by N. Chevalier from Malan's sketch) = Russell, 1991, p. 37, fig. 22.

PLATE 3 6 1

447c Sketch by Malan (f. 31, no. 114).

Annotation in pencil: *Kouyunjik. June 10th* [1850] 26.3 × 18.2 cm.

The upper slab is the same as that depicted on **447a–b**, forming the right jamb of Entrance *i*.

Malan has added four letters in the Hebrew script reading *dāgōn*. It clearly reflects the erroneous view commonly held in the last century (see Mitchell, 1988, p. 50) that the fish-garbed figure was to be identified as the Philistine god Dagon. [TCM]

The lower slab depicting a fish-tailed figure facing left may belong to the opposite jamb of Entrance *i* or to the southwest jamb of Entrance *g* (457).

PLATE 3 6 1

448 Slabs 12 + 13: The broad river is continued, narrowing towards the right, and showing a row of auxiliary spearmen marching to the right along its bank; on the other side of this river full of fish, the walls of a besieged city are shown, with archers discharging arrows; below them is a row of captives led by Assyrian soldiers.

448a Or.Dr. I, 45;² unsigned pencil drawing, probably by F. C. Cooper, on light brown paper, enhanced with white; 43.5 × 66 cm (53.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos 14. 15. [actually 12 and 13] Chamber V Kouyunjik'.

Russell, 1991, p. 210, fig. 115; *SAI* I, figs 8 and 38.

PLATES 3 6 2, (detail) 3 5 9

449–450 Slabs 14 + 15: Only the lower parts of the slabs survived; they show the continuation of the row of deportees advancing towards the right, and the continuation of the broad river with fish, in mountainous country with inverted hills at the bottom. A square niche or window seems to have been cut in slab 14. Feet of a second row of soldiers with deportees survived to the right of the niche and on slab 15. Soldiers are

piling the heads of the slain before scribes, and behind them are the king's body-guard and his chariot, only part of the large wheel surviving in the right upper corner; below, on the bank of the river, led horses and soldiers.

449a–450a Or.Dr. I, 44;³ unsigned pencil drawing, probably by F. C. Cooper, on light brown paper, enhanced with white; 38 × 64.2 cm (56.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 12. 13 [actually 14 and 15] Chamber V Kouyunjik'.

Russell, 1991, p. 142, fig. 72 ('slabs 12 and 13'); Christies Sale Catalogue, London 6 July 1994, lot 227 (**378** – it was suggested that this fragment came from 'slab 13' and the drawing was illustrated p. 15).

PLATE 3 6 3 with detail

Original lost, apart from two probably joining fragments of slab 15 (see also **378**):

450b New York, MMA 32.143.16; ex Canford Manor, sold by Lord Wimborne to Dikran Kelekian in 1919; gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1932; 51.5 × 85 cm.

Two Assyrian archers advancing towards the left beside their horses, on the bank of a river in mountainous country.

Winlock, 1933, p. 22, fig. 4; Gadd, 1936, pp. 239–40; Porada, 1945, p. 154 upper; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, p. 142, fig. 73.

PLATE 3 6 4

450c Karlsruhe (Germany), Badisches Landesmuseum, Antiken-Sammlung (Leihgabe der Daimler Benz AG, Stuttgart); ex Bloomfield Hills, Mich. U.S.A., Cranbrook Academy of Arts; 50 × 65 cm.

Two Assyrian archers advancing towards the left beside their horses, on the bank of a river in mountainous country; the tail of a third horse at the left corner is probably that of the right horse in **450b**.

Thimme, n.d.; Opitz, 1930–1; Gadd, 1936, pp. 239–40; Rehm, 1997, pp. 102 [M3], 353, Abb. XI.

PLATE 3 6 4

451 Slabs 16 + 17 + 18 + 19 + 20 and 21 + 22 on the northwest side and slabs 23 + 24 on the northeast side of this Room are numbered in Layard's plan. In his transcript (Russell, 1995, p. 80), Layard states that 'Most of the slabs in this chamber have been drawn. Those which have not are more or less imperfect and represent precisely the same subject'. A few slabs were probably drawn by Layard or his artists and some of the later drawings in Or.Dr. VI are probably to be attributed to this room.

452 Slab 17 or 18 (?): Or.Dr. VI, 25 lower; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder (on the same sheet of greyish paper as **651**), enhanced with white and brown wash; 66.6 × 43.5 cm (35.8 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'.

Horsemen, archers, and spearmen are marching along the bank of a broad river, after having sacked a city, the walls of which are shown in flames; of a two-line inscription only the first sign *ālu*, 'city', probably a determinative, is given on the drawing.⁴ Hills and trees are inverted on the left bank of the river. This may be the inscribed slab mentioned

by Layard (1853a, p. 342) and roughly copied in *LN* 2C. f. 11r. These signs were copied as URU É DIŠ IB: DI but might well represent *ilu bir ku-ba-[at-ti]* ... thus perhaps confirming Layard's statement (1853a, p. 460) that the decoration of Rooms XXXVIII (V) and LX (WW) were related (see 601). In his transcript (Russell, 1995, p. 80) Layard identifies the slab with the inscription as 'a fragment (No. 17 or 18)'

Layard, 1853a, p. 342; Russell, 1991, p. 65, fig. 36.

PLATE 364

453 Slab(?): Or.Dr. VI, 4; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on greenish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 42.5 × 64.5 cm (48 cm); scale given: *2-in 1/2 to a foot* (1:4.8); to the left of this, 'by me Dec^r 1st'.

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'.

A city built on two hills in mountainous country, captured by the Assyrian army; of the fortified walls above only the lower part remained; a broad river full of fish is shown between the two hills, and a row of soldiers carrying spoil: tables, chairs, a large cauldron, a bed, a parasol, robes and other goods from what was evidently a royal city. This corresponds to the description of a relief from Room XXXVIII (V) given in Layard (1853a, p. 440) but an alternative location could be Room LXV (DDD) (see 619). Note that the hills and trees are not inverted.

PLATES 364, (detail) 365

454 Slab (?): Or.Dr. VI, 20; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on brownish paper; 45.7 × 57.2 cm (42.2 cm); scale given: *2-1/2 to the foot* (1:4.8).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'.

A broad curved river full of fish, with a tributary from the upper right, is represented in hilly wooded country, with the hills and the trees inverted at the bottom; auxiliary spearmen descend the slope of a hill towards the left, to meet a row of archers marching towards the right, probably auxiliary troops joining the army. For an alternative location see Room LX (WW).

SAA V, fig. 20.

PLATE 365

455 Slab (?): Or.Dr. VI, 9; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 44.1 × 42.9 cm (30.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'.

Assyrian spearmen carrying large, round convex shields on their backs are descending and ascending hills, moving towards the left in mountainous wooded country; a broad meandering river is full of fish; the hills and trees at the bottom are inverted. For an alternative location for this slab see Room LX (WW).

SAA IV, fig. 14.

PLATE 365

456a Slab (?): Or.Dr. VI, 13; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 47 × 53.8 cm (36.8 cm); scale given: *in 2-1/2 to the foot* (1:4.8).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'; 'Slab from Kouyunjik'.

Horses led by Assyrian soldiers along the bank of a broad curving river, the bed of which broadens at the right side of the slab; it represents a valley in wooded mountainous country; the hills and trees at the bottom are inverted. For an alternative location for this slab, see Room LX (WW). *SAA* V, fig. 17.

PLATE 366

456b Original lost, apart from a fragment in New York, MMA 32.143.18; ex Canford Manor, sold by Lord Wimborne to Dikran Kelekian in 1919; gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr, 1932; 64.8 × 56.8 cm. An Assyrian warrior, advancing towards the left along a river with fish, holds a spear upright, and has his bow in the bowcase on his back; he leads his horse by the bridle.

Porada, 1945, p. 154 lower.

PLATE 366

457 Entrance *g* leading into Room XLI (W), decorated with fish-cloaked figures and a continuation of the scenes from Room XLI. The lower slab on 447c could come from this doorway.

Layard, 1853a, p. 343, quoted above under 447, and p. 344.

The following fragments may come from Room XXXVIII (V):

458 Istanbul, AM 66–69 (4 joining fragments); 46 × 63 cm.

Several rows of swimming fish. The scales representing the mountains on either side of the river face in different directions.

PLATE 367

459 London, BM WA 139495 (1983-1-1, 38); 25.5 × 15.2 × 7.6 cm.

Wheel of the king's chariot being carried above water; traces of two men and the hand of a third steadying the wheel.

Gadd, 1936, p. 225.

PLATE 367

460 London, BM WA 135751 (1972-12-9, 1); 22.8 × 35.6 × 9 cm.

Lower half of an Assyrian soldier walking towards the left along the edge of water which covers the entire surface of this fragment, and in which are two fish and a dead bullock. Note, however, that the drawings attributed to this room do not show carcasses in the water. Smith reports that this piece was found 'in the western part of the palace, near the edge of the mound' so it may have come from Room LX (WW).

Smith, 1875, p. 148 (engraving, showing bullock and fish only).

PLATE 367

461 Turin, Museo Egizio (ex Museo d'Antichità 6); 17 × 15 cm.

Head of a man facing left, and arm of another man behind, against water.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 59, 62, fig. 52.

PLATE 367

462 Toledo, Museum of Art, Acc. no. 21.83; purchased 1921; 31.7 × 38 cm.

Upper part of two spearmen with crested helmets, carrying round wicker-work shields, marching towards the right along a river in mountainous country. Perhaps from the missing part of 444 or 446.

PLATE 367

Notes

- 1 The type of landscape represented in this room is similar to that shown in Room LX (WW), the southeast façade (Layard, 1853a, p. 460). In Layard's notebook (*LN* 2E, f. 34r) the reliefs from Room WW are described as showing a broad river in mountainous country, wooded with vines and other trees, with soldiers wading through water. A burning city is represented on slab 2 (601), and an inscription identifies it as Bit-Kubatti, which was besieged and captured during Sennacherib's second campaign against the land of the Kassites and the land of the Isabigallai (see 601). Soldiers wading through water are also shown in Room XLVIII (M) (slabs 1–10). The present room (XXXVIII) (V) also possibly showed scenes from Sennacherib's second campaign but since the turban worn by enemy soldiers is associated with the west (Reade, 1979a, p. 92; Russell, 1991, pp. 161, 164, 172–3) these reliefs might be attributed to Sennacherib's third campaign.
- 2 The slabs shown in Or.Dr. I, 44 are marked '12. 13.' and in Or.Dr. I, 45 '14. 15', but since the river narrows towards the right in Or.Dr. I, 45 and continues as a narrower stream in Or.Dr. I, 44, and since the procession from the city also continues, it is clear that this is the correct sequence, Or.Dr. I, 45 showing slabs 12 + 13 and Or.Dr. I, 44 slabs 14 + 15, the artist having mistakenly reversed the numbering.
- 3 See n. 2.
- 4 The inscription may have begun on the adjoining slab to the left; the representation would go equally well with Layard's description in Room LX (WW) representing 'Bit-Kubatti'. Perhaps one of the 'strong, walled cities' mentioned in Sennacherib's second campaign (Luckenbill, 1927, II, p. 141, no. 304 = 1932, p. 67, lines 10–11).

ROOM XXXIX (Y)

The only entrance into this room is Entrance *i* (447) from Room XXXVIII (V). All the walls are shown as lined with slabs, but are not numbered in Layard's plans. Layard (1853a, p. 347 quoted below) described them as showing a besieged city in a country wooded with fir trees. See also Court VI (I) for country wooded with fir trees and 514–516 (and possibly 513) under Room XLVII (JJ).

The second entrance formed by the fish-gods opened into a small chamber, whose sides had been lined with bas-reliefs representing the siege of a castle, in a country wooded with fir trees, amongst which were long lines of warriors on foot, on horse-back, and in chariots. But there were no remains of inscription, and no peculiarity of costume to identify the conquered people.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 347)

Layard's notebook contains the additional information that archers were depicted and that the reliefs were preserved on the west side but seem to have been largely destroyed on the north; one slab was drawn on the east side. The transcription (Russell, 1995, p. 80) states that the 'castle' or fortified camp was on the west side, and that its 'large interior' was occupied 'with tents and horses – persons occupied as in other similar representations – horses feeding, etc.' (see 695–698 below).

Layard, *LN* 2C, ff. 11; Paterson, 1915, p. 10; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 64, 341.

ROOMS XL (X) and XLI (W)

(PLATE 368–369)

Entrance *g* (457) from Room XXXVIII (V) led into Room XLI (W) and Entrance *h* (463) led from it into Room XL (X) which had no other exit and which had a niche in its southeast wall indicating that it had been used as a bathroom. Neither room is described in Layard's notebooks, but the published description indicates that part of Sennacherib's third campaign was probably depicted, with the Mediterranean and a city such as Tyre or Sidon. Part of Ashurbanipal's Library was found in both rooms but may have collapsed from an upper storey. Malan, in one of his watercolours (463a), probably shows Room XLI with the doorway into Room XL on the far side of the room; however, if the slabs in the foreground are a threshold, rather than the collapsed upper parts of reliefs, then the room would be XL with a tunnel through the wall into Room XXXIX. In the absence of Layard's drawings, Malan's sketch is the only surviving depiction of the slabs.

The first doorway, guarded by the fish-gods [457], led into two small chambers opening into each other, and once panelled with bas-reliefs, the greater part of which had been destroyed. On a few fragments, still standing against the walls, could be traced a city on the shore of a sea whose waters were covered with galleys. I shall call these chambers 'the chambers of records', for, like 'the house of the rolls', or records, which Darius ordered to be searched for the decree of Cyrus, concerning the building of the temple of Jerusalem, they appear to have contained the decrees of the Assyrian kings as well as the archives of the empire. . .

The chambers I am describing appear to have been a depository in the palace of Nineveh for such documents. To the height of a foot or more from the floor they were entirely filled with them; some entire, but the greater part broken into many fragments, probably by the falling in of the upper part of the building.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 344–5)

Paterson, 1915, p. 10; Smith, 1875, pp. 144–5 (archives); Russell, 1991, pp. 64–5, 341.

463 Entrance *h* leading from Room XLI (W) into Room XL (X).

463a Watercolour by Malan (f. 29, no. 112).

Annotated in pencil: '*Kouyoumjik. June 17th*' [1850]; 28.8 × 22.3 cm.

As there are no drawings or original slabs known from these rooms, this hasty sketch is most instructive; it shows two slabs on the left with figures above, and led horses and soldiers below, in mountainous country. On the right several slabs are shown *in situ*: the walls of a fortified city on the bank of a river with fish, and probably the shore of the sea with a sea-going galley of the Phoenician type is represented (cf. De Graeve, 1981, pl. XLI and pp. 67–8). Many fragments had fallen from the walls, and are shown lying in a heap. In the background is doorway 463 into Room XL (X) or a tunnel from that room into Room XXXIX (see above).

PLATE 368

463b Lithograph by N. Chevalier based on Malan's sketch, but the seated Arab has been replaced by the figure of Layard, taken from 278b and reversed. Reproduced from Layard, 1853a, opp. p. 345.

Waterfield, 1963, pl. opp. p. 215; Russell, 1991, p. 38, fig. 23.

PLATE 369

ROOM XLII (N)

This passage-room connects Court XIX (U), through Entrance *b* (or *f*. see 295), with Room XLVIII (M), through Entrance *c* (464). The slabs of Room XLII (N) were not numbered and probably none was drawn. Some of them had been purposely defaced and others had been destroyed. On one or two on the west there were mountains with trees and horsemen descending.

Layard, *LN* 2C, f. 8v–9r; Layard, 1853a, p. 342; Paterson, 1915, p. 10; Russell, 1991, pp. 66, 341.

464 Entrance *c* leading into Room XLVIII (M), with numbered slabs on either side continuing the scenes in Room XLVIII (M) but badly damaged (527).

ROOM XLIII (E, KK) (PLATES 370–376)

This large room parallel to Room XLVI (II) was called Room E on Layard's plans (PLATES 8 and 11). As we know from Layard's unpublished plan (PLATE 7) and from the notes on the drawings, only the northeast part of Room XLIII was called E, whereas the southwest part was labelled KK, and in each part the slabs are numbered separately. The designation 'Room E' seems to refer only to the east corner of this room, i.e. the wall between Entrances *b* and *c*.

Three entrances *e*, *d* and *c* (297–299) led from Room XLIII (KK, E) into Court XIX (U). On the northwest side, two Entrances *g* (476) and *a* (478), both led into Room XLVI (II); Entrance *b* (465) led into Room XLV (D), and Entrance *f* on the southwest (472), led into Room XLIV (LL). The style of the reliefs in this room would suggest a date later than Sennacherib, but there is no distinctive element to attribute these slabs to Esarhaddon or to the 'Early Ashurbanipal style'.

Layard, *LN* 1, f. 51r; Layard, *LN* 2C, f. 11v; Layard, *LN* 2E, ff. 32r–31v; Layard, 1849a, II, p. 136; Layard, 1853a, p. 582; Paterson, 1915, p. 10; Gadd, 1936, p. 251; Wäfler, 1975, p. 370; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 66, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 75, 82.

Room E

Of the walls of chamber E, the lower part, to the height of about four feet, alone remained. Upon it could be traced long lines of captives; amongst them women carrying their children, and riding on mules. The prisoners were brought by archers before warriors, standing to receive them, with their spears raised, and their shields resting on the ground. (Layard, 1849a, II, p. 136)

465 Entrance *b* leading into Room XLV (D). See 492.

466–467 Slabs 1(E) + 2(E) (corner): A file of male and female deportees (perhaps Ellipian, see Reade, 1976, pp. 97–9) face a pair of Assyrian spearman: three pairs of archers, with their weapons, are followed by two women, one carrying her child on her shoulders, and the other raising her right arm; two further pairs of women are followed by a small boy leading a donkey. Behind them is a male captive, advancing towards the left. Only one register of the slabs was drawn. Layard, 1849b, pl. 83; Paterson, 1915, p. 10, pl. 79 middle.

466a–467a Or.Dr. IV, 28; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed A. H. L[ayard]; 22.8 × 48.6 cm (40.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Part of No 1 & 2 Chamber E'.

Russell, 1991, p. 170, fig. 90.

PLATE 371

Two small fragments from slab 1 have survived.

466b London, BM WA 102075 (97-10-8, 4); presented by Miss H. G. Wainwright in 1897; 18.4 × 29.2 × 5.7 cm.

Yellowish stone.

Heads of two Ellipian(?) warriors marching towards the left; the one nearest the viewer carries his bow and his quiver on his shoulder. Traces of a raised hand and quiver on the left indicate that this is part of the pair of warriors on slab 1 immediately in front of the women.

PLATE 371

466c London, BM WA 102073 (97-10-8, 2); presented by Miss H. G. Wainwright, 1897; 31.1 × 29.2 × 5.3 cm.

Yellowish stone. An Elamite woman marching towards the left, her right arm raised, carrying a sack on her shoulder, followed by two other prisoners.

Gadd, 1936, p. 178.

PLATE 371

468 Slab 3(E): In the recess on the left of Entrance *c* (299) into Court XIX (U). On the lower part of the slab are ten figures: a row of prisoners and soldiers and a mule (see 469a).

469 Slab 4(E): Lining Entrance *c* (299) on its eastern side. Layard (*LN* 1, f. 51r) implies that the scene on this slab continued that on slab 3(E) (468); two Elamite(?) women riding towards the left on the back of an equid were drawn (469a). The lower register showed two archers followed by two female prisoners.

Layard, 1849b, pl. 82 bottom; Paterson, 1915, pl. 79 bottom (drawing planned but not shown).

469a Or.Dr. IV, 29; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, on whitish paper; 21 × 34.9 cm (15.9 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 3 Chamber E'.

Only part of one register shown; Layard's notes and transcription indicate that this was actually on a middle register of slab 4.

PLATE 371

470 Slab 5(E): Presumably on the western jamb of Entrance *c* (299) but no number is given on Layard's plans. It is described in *LN* 1, f. 51r

as 'the lower part of a chariot surrounded by water with fish. Behind the chariot is a horseman, beneath trees and mountains'.

Room KK

To the north of the great centre hall [Court XIX (U)] four new chambers had been discovered. The first was 96 feet by 23. On its walls were represented the return of an Assyrian army from war, with their spoil of captives and cattle. The prisoners were distinguished by a cap turned back at the top, not unlike the Phrygian bonnet reversed, short tunics, and a broad belt. The women had long curls falling over their shoulders, and were clothed in fringed robes. The fighting-men of the conquered tribe wore a simple fillet round their short hair; a tunic, falling in front to the knee, and behind, to the calf of the leg; a wavy girdle, and a cross-belt round their breasts, ending in two large tassels. At their backs they carried a quiver topped by a circular ornament. The captives bore small squares, which, from their apparent weight, were probably meant to represent ingots of gold, or some other metal. Their beasts of burden were laden with the same objects. A kneeling camel, receiving its load, was designed with considerable truth and spirit. The legs bent under, the tail raised, the foot of the man on the neck of the animal to keep it from rising, whilst a second adjusts the burden from behind, form a group seen every day in the Desert and in an Eastern town. The camel saddle, too, nearly resembled that still used by the Arabs. The women rode on mules, and in carts drawn by these animals and sometimes by men. Asses and waggons bore caldrons, and sacks, probably containing corn. One bas-relief represented captives resting; two unharnessed mules stood eating their barley in front of the loaded cart; a woman seated on a stone held her child upon her knees, whilst her husband drank water from a cup.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 582–3)

471 Slab 1(KK): Corner between Entrance *f* (472) into Room XLIV and Entrance *e* (297). It depicted 'carts with men, women and spoil preceded by archers as those drawn [on slabs] 2, 3, 4' (Russell, 1995, p. 82).

472 Entrance *f* leading into Room XLIV (LL); two figures facing into Room XLIII (KK), the first winged with a bucket, the second with lion's legs (LN 2E, f. 31v) (see 231).

473 Slab 2(KK): An Assyrian soldier holds a stick upright and drives two captives carrying large and heavy bricks or slabs on their backs towards the right;¹ their characteristic head-dress is a cap with earflaps and a pointed top lying backwards, probably Sam'alian (see 156–158). A man with a possibly Judean head-dress and another captive are loading a camel; two other men load the slabs onto the back of an equid (see 481 for the possible ultimate destination of these slabs for the building of a siege-ramp).

Layard, 1853a, p. 582;² Layard, 1853b, pl. 33 third down; Paterson, 1915, p. 11, pl. 82 lower middle.³

473a Or.Dr. I, 66 lower; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper enhanced with white; 44 × 66.2 cm (41.5 cm); scale given: 3 in. = 1 ft. (1:4).
Annotation in pencil: 'No. 2. Ch: KK. Kouyunjik'.

Russell, 1991, p. 170, fig. 91.

PLATE 372

474 Slab 3(KK) (corner): Drawing not identified; probably a continuation of the transportation of large slabs.

475 Slab 4(KK): Two captives carry large slabs on their backs towards the right; in front of them is a cart with eight-spoked wheels loaded with logs drawn by three captives, a camel-driver follows a heavily laden camel, and two more captives carry slabs on their backs.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 33 second down; Paterson, 1815, pl. 82 upper middle.

475a Or.Dr. I, 65 lower; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 43.8 × 66.3 cm (38.1 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No. 4 Ch: KK Kouyunjik'.

The drawing apparently only represents a register from the bottom of the slab.

PLATE 373

475b Alternative drawing of the right half of slab 4(KK): Or.Dr. IV, XI Miscellaneous; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper; 42.2 × 28.2 cm.

PLATE 373

476 Entrance *g* leading into Room XLVI (II). The first slab was of a lion-legged figure and the second continued the subject of the reliefs in Room XLVI (II) (501) (LN 2E, f. 32r).

477 Slabs 5(KK), 6(KK): Slab 5 depicted a camel and captives (Russell, 1995, p. 82). Not drawn.

478 Entrance *a*: Leading into Room XLVI (II). Two figures facing south, the first fish-cloaked, the second lion-legged (LN 2E, f. 32r).

479 Slabs 7(KK) + 8(KK) + 9(KK): Not drawn? See 481 and 482 below.

480 Slabs 10(KK) + 11(KK, corner) + 12(KK): Not drawn.

[465] Entrance *b* leading into Room XLV (D).

Siege-ramps are shown in several rooms, but the procedure of building them up, with men carrying material for the ramps, is only shown on 481 where the figures carrying loads on their backs are closely paralleled on 473 and 474. It is therefore proposed to attribute drawings 481 and 482 to Room XLIII (KK). If this is correct, then they could possibly represent slabs missing between 9 and 10 of Room XLIII (KK) which had been removed for reuse (see below and n. 5). It is possible, however, that they belonged to Room XLVI (II), where scenes from the same campaign were represented (Elam or Media?). It should be noted, however, that the figures helping to build a siege-ramp on 481 do not wear the head-dress of the 'ingot'-bearers on 473–474 and may be carrying a different load.

481 Slab (?): A large double-walled city, fortified with towers with triangular openings and battlements, attacked by Assyrian archers. A siege-ramp has already been built; archers with body shields and slingers are on the attack upon the steep ramp, while a row of men carrying large slabs on their backs advance to build further ramps. They also use palm fronds⁴ for constructing the ramps against the city walls. As palm fronds are used, this must represent a city in a district such as Babylonia or Elam, where palms are indigenous.

481a Or.Dr. V, 55; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on greyish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 43.2 × 34.7 cm (21 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Kouyunjik. Siege of a city, probably Lachish*'; '*Part of a slab discovered at Kubba⁵ in the month of June*'; initials *WB* or *MB* crossed out (see **369b** note).

PLATE 374

481b Original of this slab in New York, MMA, 55.121.4; 124.4 × 114.3 cm.

Illustrated London News no. 5752 (16 July 1949), p. 93 stating that this slab had been acquired by H. C. Rawlinson; Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London, 18 July 1949; Weidner, 1945–51, p. 139, fig. 3.

PLATE 374

482 Slab (?): A triple walled city, the walls fortified with towers. As on **481**, the inner wall shows triangular openings. Four ramps are shown against the walls, on each of which, behind a siege-engine, archers shoot arrows and slingers throw stones. Large bricks(?) and palm fronds are used for the ramps. On the right side, an archer in an upper register and a pair of captives in a lower are advancing towards the right.

482a Or.Dr. V, 53; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 45 × 62 cm (42 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*Attack on the town of Lachish with four battering rams; attended by Archers, Pikemen, etc.*'; '*Fragment from Kubba⁶ on the Mound of Kouyunjik*'.

PLATE 375

Original unknown apart from the following fragments:

482b London, BM WA 116733 (1938-12-12, 1); 22.2 × 43.2 × 3.8 cm, three fragments joined; grey stone with large white spots; joining **482c**.

Three pairs of warriors in action on the siege ramp.

PLATE 376

482c Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, ROM 932.6; 22 × 35.5 × 1.3 cm; joining **482b**.

Three more pairs of attackers on the siege ramp.

Reade, 1972, p. 110, pl. XXXVIIIa.

PLATE 376

482d New York, The Norbert Schimmel Collection; 27.2 × 16 cm.

Two male prisoners facing right, side by side with raised hands, from the right-hand part of the slab.

Muscarella, 1974, no. 152 bis; Strommenger, 1978, no. 149.

PLATE 376

Notes

- 1 Layard suggested that these slabs might be ingots.
- 2 On Layard's woodcut the slab has been restored, as only the lower part of the figure on the right survived.
- 3 Paterson (1915, pl. 82) erroneously attributed all four drawings illustrated on this plate to Room XLVII, probably because Layard designated these slabs as from 'Chamber LXIII' (1853b, p. 4), presumably a misprint for XLIII. This latter would be correct for the two drawings in the middle of the plate, but not for the top and bottom drawings which are slabs from Room XLVI (II) as stated on the Original Drawings themselves (see **500** and **502–504**).
- 4 Wooden beams and branches and, on this slab, palm fronds were incorporated into the upper layer of the ramp to prevent the siege engines from slipping (Eph'al, 1984, p. 65).
- 5 The *Kubba*, or holy burial shrine, is marked as 'Tomb' on PLATE 2. If the reliefs really were found there, they would presumably have been reused.
- 6 See n. 5.

ROOM XLIV (LL) (PLATE 377)

The only entrance leading into this room is Entrance *f* (**472**) from Room XLIII (KK). The slabs are unnumbered in Layard's plan PLATE 12, but two of them were drawn. Layard, in his notebook and transcription of it, indicates that these were on the west side and prisoners continued 'around the NW corner'.

This chamber opened at one end into a small room, 23 feet by 13. On its walls were represented a captive tribe, dressed in short tunics, a skin falling from their shoulders, boots laced up in front, and cross-bands round their legs; they had short, bushy hair and beards. (Layard, 1853a, p. 583)

Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 31v; Paterson, 1915, p. 10; Gadd, 1936, p. 251; Wäfler, 1975, p. 370; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 66, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 82.

483 Slabs 1 + 2: Only the lower parts of the upper register survived, showing a row of soldiers with large round shields, facing left, probably the king's bodyguard; traces of the horses and a section of the wheel of the king's chariot can be distinguished. The lower register represented deportees being escorted towards the right, while on slab 2, below the king's chariot, are soldiers leading horses, facing left.

483a Or.Dr. I, 66 upper; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 44 × 66 cm (59 cm); scale given: 3 in. = 1 ft. (1:4).

Annotation in pencil: '*No 1 & 2 Ch. LL Kouyunjik*'.

Russell, 1991, p. 158, fig. 81.

PLATE 377

ROOM XLV (D) (PLATES 378–386)

This small square room had two entrances; Entrance *b* (465) led from Room XLIII (E), and on the northwest side, another small entrance (250) led into Room XVI. On Layard's plan (PLATE 12), the numbering starts at that entrance. This room is also described in Layard's notebook. According to Gadd, nos 700 and 701 also came from this room; see also 744 and 760.

Upon the walls of chamber D, were the siege and capture of a city, standing on the banks of a river in the midst of forests and mountains. On one slab could be seen warriors cutting down trees, to form an approach to the castle, whilst others were combating with the enemy in the woods. On the adjoining slabs were warriors scaling the walls, slaughtering sheep, driving off captives and cattle, and carrying away the heads of the slain. Small figures, wearing high caps, and having their hands joined in front, were represented as sitting astride on poles, and borne on men's shoulders. They may have been the divinities, or idols, of the conquered people. The king in his chariot, the umbrella held over his head by an eunuch, was receiving the spoil.

(Layard, 1849a, II, pp. 135–6)

Layard, *LV* 1, f. 50r; Paterson, 1915, p. 10; Gadd, 1936, pp. 164–5, 251; Wäfler, 1975, p. 370; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 66, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 75.

484 Slab 1: Without sculpture.

485 Slab 2 (corner): In his notebook Layard indicates that only part of this corner-slab was drawn but does not say which; the other half was too badly destroyed. Two rows of Assyrian soldiers, the king's bodyguard, stand behind the king's chariot. Sennacherib under his sunshade is receiving the spoil of a city; before him, above the horses, is an inscription, indicated as largely erased:

1 [...]

2 [...]

3 The booty [of GN]

4 [passed in review] before [him].

Above and below this scene, the country is shown as thickly wooded and covered with mountain-scale pattern; at the bottom is a small river with a row of fish.

485a Or.Dr. IV, 23; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard; 41.5 × 29.8 cm (22.1 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 2 Chamber D'.

Russell, 1991, p. 143, fig. 74.

PLATE 379

486 Slab 3: Not drawn; a continuation of the scene on slab 4 (487) with captives and warriors, but badly damaged.

487 Slab 4: The upper and the lower registers, like those on the previous slabs, show thickly wooded, mountainous country. Two women, one with a child, are resting on their way to the left, an Assyrian archer follows, leading a herd of cattle, goats and sheep. The left half of the middle portion is missing but presumably here, or on slab 3, were depicted scribes to whom the heads of the slain were being

brought. Behind them, statue-bearers (continued on slab 5, 488) carry a small statue on a pole.¹ Below are unsaddled horses and the same river with fish.

487a Or.Dr. IV, 24; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed A. H. Layard; 40.8 × 32.4 cm (28.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No. 4. Chamber D'.

PLATE 380

487b Photograph by King; note that the mountain-scale pattern forms a background to the whole slab.

PLATE 384

488 Slab 5: The spoil of a besieged city is carried towards the left; it includes two statuettes, as on 487, each carried by four soldiers. Below, two horses led by an inhabitant of the besieged city, a bearded man wearing an animal skin cloak. On the right side, the city is shown as under attack by archers behind body shields; spearmen are climbing up the city-wall, which shows three rectangular doors, bartlements, and triangular crenellations; below, on the bank of the small river with fish, Assyrian soldiers are slaughtering sheep. Layard, 1849b, pl. 75; Paterson, 1915, pl. 80 upper.

488a Or.Dr. IV, 25; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed A. H. Layard; 29.9 × 44.5 cm (28.4 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 5 Chamber D'.

Russell, 1991, p. 67, fig. 37; *SAI* II, fig. 3.

PLATE 381

488b Photograph by King; note that the mountain-scale pattern forms a background to the whole slab.

PLATE 384

489 Slab 6 (corner?): The whole slab shows mountain-scale pattern with deciduous trees, and a small river with fish at the bottom. A few fugitives from the besieged city are attacked by Assyrian soldiers. On the right side, three pairs of soldiers are cutting down trees; at the bottom, two are slaughtering an animal (a deer?).

Layard, 1849b, pl. 76; Paterson, 1915, pl. 80 lower left; Maxwell-Hyslop, 1974, p. 153, fig. 1 (detail).

489a Or.Dr. IV, 26; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed A. H. Layard; 39.2 × 28.9 cm (20.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'No 6. Chamber D'.

PLATE 382

489b–c Photographs by King. From these it is clear that slab 6 was drawn up to the corner; the return, possibly a separate unnumbered slab, was not drawn.

PLATE 385

490 Slab 7:

On the bottom of slab No. 7 was a fisherman fishing with a hook and line in a pond. Upon his back was a wicker basket, containing the fish he had caught. This was almost the only fragment of sculpture that I was

able to move and send to England, as a specimen of the bas-reliefs of Kouyunjik.

(Layard, 1849a, II, p. 136)

The lower left part of slab 7 shows a pool (or source of a small river) in mountainous country with deciduous trees; a fisherman is angling for fish in it. The pool is almost circular, with a small watercourse emerging from its right side; it is shown with a pattern of hatched squares and neither it nor the stream have the whirls often used to represent flowing water. The remains of slab 7 can be seen on two of King's photographs (489b-c) in shadow on the right.

Layard, 1849b, pl. 67B; Paterson, 1915, pl. 80 lower right; Meissner, 1920a, Abb. 93; Pritchard, 1969a, no. 114.

490a Or.Dr. IV, 27; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed *A. H. Layard*; 21.2 × 34.9 cm (20.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: '*No 7 Chamber D*'.

PLATE 383

490b Original in London, BM WA 102072 (97-10-8, 1); presented by Miss H. G. Wainwright in 1897; 54.5 × 62 cm.

Gadd, 1936, p. 177.

PLATE 383

491 Slab 8: Only the lower part preserved, with soldiers leading horses.

492 Slab 9 (corner): Traces of an upper register remain with feet of a led horse and groom, facing right; at the bottom, the country is indicated as wooded and mountainous with a small river with fish as on the other slabs from Room XLV (D).

492a Or.Dr. VI, 21; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on greyish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 35.3 × 49.5 cm. (41.5 cm), scale given: 2-1/2" to the foot (1:4.8). Annotations in pencil: '*Old Palace - Kouyunjik*'; '*at right angles*'; '*WB*' or '*MB*' crossed out (see 369b note); '*Two slabs forming [?] part of a Chamber*'.

PLATE 386

Notes

1 The three statuettes represented on 487-488 are shown in a sitting or riding posture. They are dressed in short-sleeved shirts and short kilts. The fact that four men were needed to carry each statuette suggests that they were heavy, possibly of solid gold. The identity of these three deities is unknown, but they could suggest that the city represented on 488 was in a horse-breeding area.

ROOM XLVI (II) (PLATES 387-394)

This room had two entrances on its southeast side, *a* and *g* (478 and 476), leading into Room XLIII (KK), and an unlabelled, narrow doorway (506) on its southwest, leading into Room XLVII (JJ). Most of the slabs come from the northeastern end of the room; only the lower halves of them seem to have been

preserved, representing events in Sennacherib's second campaign in Media and Elam.

In the outer chamber [Room XLIII] two doorways opposite the grand entrances into the great hall [Court XIX], led into a parallel apartment, 62 feet by 16 feet. On its walls was represented the conquest of the same people, wearing the reversed Phrygian bonnet. There were long lines of prisoners; some in carts, others on foot. The fighting men, armed with bows and quivers, were made to bear part of the spoil. In the costumes of the warriors and captives, and in the forms of the waggons and war-carts, these bas-reliefs bore a striking resemblance to the sculptures of the son of Essarhaddon, described in a previous chapter. It may, therefore, be inferred that the conquest of the same nation was celebrated in both, and that on these walls we have recorded the successful wars of Sennacherib in the country of Susiana or Elam.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 583-4)

Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 32r; Paterson, 1915, p. 10; Wäfler, 1975, p. 370; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 66, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 82.

493-494 Slabs 1 and 2: Only the lower part of the upper register remains, showing led horses, soldiers and deportees; the lower register represents women carrying sacks on their shoulders, following two pairs of naked manacled male captives; an Assyrian soldier pulls a captive by the beard. Only a fragment of slab 2 seems to have remained and it does not appear to have joined with slab 1; Assyrian soldiers are struggling with deportees.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 34 upper; Paterson, 1915, pl. 81 upper.

493a-494a Or.Dr. IV, 53; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 32.9 × 63.8 cm (61 cm); scale given: 3 in = 1 ft. (1:4).

Annotation in pencil: '*No. 1 & 2 Ch. II Kouyunjik*'.

SAI II, fig. 11.

PLATE 388

493b Alternative drawing of slab 1: Or.Dr. IV, 55; unsigned pencil drawing on whitish paper, probably by A. H. Layard (a preliminary sketch for 493a); 30.1 × 45.9 cm (45.7 cm).

PLATE 388

495 Slab 3: Not drawn; rows of male and female deportees probably continued.

496 Slabs 4 + 5 (corner): Only the lower part of the upper register remains, showing a row of soldiers carrying heads of the slain; below, pairs of male and female deportees advance towards the right with an equid, and two women are followed by a child.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 34 lower left; Paterson, 1915, pl. 81 lower left; Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, pp. 510-11, fig. 234; Reade, 1976, pp. 97-8, fig. 1 (detail).

496a Or.Dr. I, 68; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white and black; 44.2 × 66 cm (47 cm); scale given: 3 in = 1 ft. (1:4).

Annotation in pencil: '*Nos 4 & 5 Ch. II. Kouyunjik*'.

PLATE 389

497–498 Slabs 6 + 7: On slab 6 the lower part of a third, upper, register is preserved, showing the feet of a row of soldiers moving left. The middle register consists of a row of spearmen with large round shields also moving left; they are probably behind scribes and in front of the king's chariot. The lowest register represents a row of male and female deportees, some sitting in carts, drawn by equids. Layard, 1853b, pl. 34 lower right;¹ Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, p. 111, fig. 31; Paterson, 1915, pl. 81 lower right.

497a–498a Or.Dr. I, 67; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with black and white; 43.8 × 66.7 cm (62 cm); scale given: 3 in = 1 ft. (1:4). Annotation in pencil: 'Nos 6 & 7 Ch. II Kouyunjik'. Russell, 1991, p. 159, fig. 82.
PLATE 390

Two fragments of slab 6 and a fragment of slab 7 are known:

497b Istanbul, AM 26; 50.8 × 67 cm. Parts of five Assyrian soldiers advancing towards the left, with large, round, convex shields and spears; part of the middle register of slab 6. Gadd, 1936, p. 225; Weidner, 1937–9b, p. 378.
PLATE 391

497c Istanbul, AM 34 (3 joining fragments); dimensions not available. Part of a cart with a woman sitting on it, traces of a man with a stick on the left side, legs of a horse on the right; part of lowest register of slab 6. Gadd, 1936, p. 226.
PLATE 392 (reproduced at a smaller scale than **498b**)

498b Istanbul, AM 35; dimensions not available. Legs of a man, wheel of a cart moving towards the right, legs of an equid; lower part of bottom register of slab 7. Gadd, 1936, p. 226.
PLATE 392 (reproduced at a larger scale than **497c**)

499 Slab 8 (corner): Not drawn; probably a continuation of rows of deportees from Elam.

500 Slabs 9 + 10 (corner) + 11 (recess beside doorway): Only traces of the upper register remain with horses' legs to left. Below, two Elamite women follow a man with the characteristic dress and treatment of hair of an Elamite or Ellipian who is urging an equid to move towards the right; the equid is led by a boy and on its back rides a young woman who is looking back. In front of this group (on slab 10) are an Ellipian archer (note the special quiver-cover and see Reade, 1976, pp. 97–9) and a woman. On slab 11 the dividing of registers by plain bands is abandoned; the deported people with their goods and equids are shown resting and having a meal on their way into exile.² Layard, 1853a, p. 583 (woodcut of detail of slab 11); Layard, 1853b, pl. 33 top; Paterson, 1915, pl. 82 top.³

500a Or.Dr. I, 65 upper; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 43.6 × 66.4 cm (60 cm); scale given: 3 in = 1 ft. (1:4).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 9. 10. 11 Ch. II Kouyunjik'.
PLATE 393

[478] Entrance *a* leading into Room XLIII (KK).

501 Slab 12: In the recess to the right of Entrance *a*; led horses; drawings not known.

No other slabs are numbered between here and Entrance *g*.

[476] Entrance *g* leading into Room XLIII (KK).

502–504 Edge of the slab lining the right side of Entrance *g* + slabs 13 + 14: Of the upper register only the feet of deportees, led horses and grooms remain, facing left. A row of Ellipian deportees (Reade, 1976, pp. 97–9) is represented in the lower register; two men follow a cart with eight-spoked wheels, in which two archers and a woman are sitting; six Ellipian archers with their weapons are marching beside and in front of the equid; two pairs of women face spearmen who hold their round shields pressed under their arms. Layard, 1853a, p. 583 (woodcut of detail of slab 13); Layard, 1853b, pl. 33 bottom; Paterson, 1915, pl. 82 bottom.⁴

502a–504a Or.Dr. IV, 54; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 31.4 × 65 cm (63.2 cm); scale given: 3 in = 1 ft. (1:4). Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 13. 14 Ch. II Kouyunjik'. SAA II, fig. 10 (slabs 12–14).
PLATE 393

Two fragments of these reliefs are known:

503b Hartford, The Wadsworth Athenaeum, WA 84.1917; dimensions not available. Heads and upper parts of three Ellipian archers and two women before them, marching towards the right. The deported warriors are carrying their quivers with special covers on their backs, and their bows on their shoulders but note that the patterning of their garments differs in two cases from what is depicted in the drawing; upper part of lower register of slab 13. Stearns, 1961, pp. 9–10, pl. 93a.
PLATE 394

504b Beverly Hills, California Museum of Ancient Art 83 A S1; 24.1 × 20.3 cm.⁵ Two Elamite female deportees are advancing towards the right, and the woman nearest the viewer turns her head back; an Assyrian soldier is confronting them, but only his face with a long beard and part of his hand holding his lance survive; upper part of bottom register of slab 14.
PLATE 394

The following fragment may come from Room XLVI (II):

505 London, BM WA 139506 (1983-1-1, 49); 32.3 × 29.2 × 14 cm. There is a door-socket hollow in the back indicating reuse.

Two archers marching towards the right.

PLATE 394

506 Entrance leading into Room XLVII (JJ); two figures facing into Room XLVII (JJ).

Layard, *LN* 2E. f. 32.

Notes

- 1 Layard and Paterson only reproduce the two lower registers; the part of the upper register shown in Or.Dr. I, 67 is nowhere illustrated.
- 2 Many deportees were brought to the large cities of Assyria, i.e. Ashur, Kalhu and Nineveh; but there were also population exchanges, people from conquered territories being taken to areas from which the inhabitants had already been deported; or deportees from certain cities or countries being scattered in several settlements in different countries, probably for political reasons, e.g. to avoid communication between rebellious groups (see Oded, 1979, pp. 27–30; Luckenbill, 1927, II, p. 236, *passim*).
- 3 Paterson erroneously attributed this slab to Room XLVII (JJ).
- 4 Paterson erroneously attributed this slab to Room XLVII (JJ), see 473 and note.
- 5 Permission to publish this fragment has been kindly granted by Mr J. Ber- man, curator of the California Museum of Ancient Art.

ROOM XLVII (JJ) (PLATES 395–403)

The only entrance into this room from Room XLVI (II) is **506**. The room had a niche in its northwest wall and was probably a bathroom. None of the slabs from this room was drawn before Layard's departure (1853a, p. 584). For this reason the slabs and room numbers are not noted on the drawings, probably made by C. D. Hodder, which can be attributed to this room with some probability, on the basis of Layard's descriptions which match them very well.

The direction of the numbering of the slabs in this room (PLATE 13) is not the usual one shown in most of the rooms, but it is the same as in Rooms III (G, C) and VIII (S), and Courts XIX (U), and LXIV (EEE). See also Paterson, 1915, p. 11.

This chamber [XLVI (II)], like the one parallel to it, led at one end into a small room 17 feet square. On its walls, the campaign recorded in the adjoining chamber had been continued. The bas-reliefs still preserved represented the king in his chariot receiving the captives; musicians playing on harps before him; mountains and forests, and a castle whose name has not been identified or deciphered.¹¹ (Layard, 1853a, p. 584)

Layard, *LN* 2E. f. 32v-r; Paterson, 1915, p. 11; Wäfler, 1975, p. 370; Reade, 1979a, p. 89; Russell, 1991, pp. 68–9, 341; Russell, 1995, p. 82.

507 Slab (?): Only the lower half of the upper register remained, showing Assyrian officers, probably the king's bodyguard, behind the king's chariot, of which the lower half of the wheel could be distinguished; a row of soldiers in front of the horses, all of them facing right; at the bottom of this slab three led horses and grooms waiting, facing right; wooded mountainous country.

508 Slab (?): A row of Assyrian soldiers carrying logs towards the left, and putting them on top of a heap already in flames (a similar scene is described in connection with Room LXV (DDD) – **616**); a row of spearmen with large round shields watching this in the upper left corner; at the bottom, wooded mountainous country with a pool full of fish, and a man angling. The edge of the slab, or a narrow slab (see n. 1) joining on the right, showed a city being destroyed by its attackers.

507a–508a Or.Dr. VI, 14 upper and lower; unsigned pencil drawings, probably by C. D. Hodder on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 48.2 × 61.2 cm (upper [507]: 40 cm; lower [508]: 48.9 cm); scale given: 2-1/2 to the foot (1:4.8).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'.

These two drawings do not join, but both are most probably from the same wall of the room.

PLATE 396

509 Slab (?): Remaining traces of the upper register showed feet turned towards the right. Below, part of a two-line inscription above a city built on top of a hill in wooded mountainous country; Assyrian soldiers on the fortified city-wall, throwing down roof beams(?) and stone blocks or bricks; a row of deportees led towards the right.

Inscription:

- 1 []
- 2 [the] city I burned with fire.

Layard, *LN* 2 E, f. 32r (with hand copy read by I. L. Finkel); Layard, 1853a, p. 584; Russell, 1991, p. 277; Russell, 1995, p. 82.

509a Or.Dr. VI, 2 lower; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on the same piece of brownish paper as **701**, enhanced with white and brown wash; 68.2 × 45.7 cm (34.3 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'.

Russell, 1991, p. 68, fig. 38.

PLATE 397

510 Slab (?): The lower part of the upper register remained, showing a horse and a soldier; the entirely preserved lower register showed five deportees, one behind the other, advancing towards the right in wooded mountainous country with hills.

511 Slab (?): The upper register showed a row of male and female deportees, advancing towards the left in mountainous country. In the lower register, two Assyrian soldiers follow three musicians playing lyres, facing a row of Assyrian spearmen with round convex shields; the wooded country shows hills.

Gadd, 1936, p. 176; Wäfler, 1975, p. 371.

510a–511a Or.Dr. VI, 27; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on grey paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 43.2 × 71.1 cm (left: 25.2 cm; right: 34.9 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'.

PLATES 397, 398

511b Part of the original slab survives in London, BM WA 124947 (56-9-9, 8); 65 × 104 cm; gypsum.

An Assyrian soldier and three lyre-players, possibly Judaeans, advancing towards the right in wooded, mountainous country.

Gadd, 1936, p. 176; Reade, 1967, p. 48; Pritchard, 1969a, no. 205; Rimmer, 1969, pl. X:1; Wäfler, 1975, pp. 61–2, n. 293, 371, pl. 3:3; Rashid, 1984, pp. 122–3, fig. 142.

PLATE 399

512 Slab (?): The king was shown in his chariot, facing left, presumably between **511** and **513**.

513 Corner slab (?): Only lower part of the slab was preserved, showing a row of war-chariots and below, a row of led horses and soldiers, facing left in mountainous country. The scene continued onto the edge of this or the adjoining slab (see n. 1). For a possible alternative location see Room XXXIX (Y).

513a Or.Dr. VI, 28; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 43.8 × 64.8 cm (50.8 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'; 'The right angle Corner of the Chamber' is written on the right-hand part of the drawing.

PLATE 400

514 Slab (?): A war-chariot partly preserved in the upper register, a led horse and a soldier behind it; at the bottom, three led horses and soldiers facing left; on the right, part of the fortified walls and the entrance of an Assyrian camp; the camp continued on **515**. For a possible alternative location see Room XXXIX (Y).

514a Or.Dr. VI, 22; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 43.3 × 67.6 cm (48.9 cm); scale given: 2-1/2 to the foot (1:4.8).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'.

PLATE 401

515 Slab (?): An Assyrian camp, with walls fortified by turrets, enclosing three rows of tents and pavilions; inside the open tents various domestic occupations were illustrated; mountainous country, wooded with fir trees. For a possible alternative location see Room XXXIX (Y).

515a Or.Dr. VI, 16 (continuation of **514**); unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 46.7 × 67.3 cm (49.5 cm); scale given: inches 2-1/2 to the foot (1:4.8).

Annotations in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'; 'Slab from Kouyunjik'.

PLATE 402

The following fragment may possibly belong to this room:

516 London, BM WA 124775 (51-9-2, 27); 94 × 101.6 × 15.2 cm. Two pairs of Assyrian slingers in action, arms of a third pair of slingers preserved on the right, in mountainous country; above and on the left, parts of fir trees. The attribution is based on the presence of fir trees on this and on **515**, but the scale pattern of the background is completely different from that on **511**. The drawings of **511** and **515**

show identical scale patterns but these are probably conventionalised and do not necessarily represent the scales accurately. Fir trees were also depicted in Court VI (I) and in Room XXXIX (Y). So this fragment could, alternatively, have come from there.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, p. 58, no. 9; Paterson, 1915, pl. 96, no. 9.

PLATE 403

Note

1 Slab **509** is clearly the slab described by Layard and situated, according to *LN* 2E, f. 32v, on the south wall of the room. It should, therefore, be slab 11, 12 or 13. It seems to show the same castle as that on slab **508**, probably a corner slab, which would therefore be slab 14, on the east wall beside the doorway. However, this would not allow for slab **507**, drawn on the same sheet as **508** and presumably on the same wall but not joining (but note that **701**, on the same sheet as **509**, probably came from another room). It seems that the king in his chariot was shown on the upper register of **507** but this cannot be the relief mentioned by Layard as being on the north wall because the king there is facing the musicians, i.e. facing left, probably on a missing slab to the right of **511**, and he refers to 'prisoners, carts and mules' in an upper register. Slab **513** could be slab 6 if it was carved on its right edge to form a niche but the pencilled inscription indicates it was a corner slab (slab 14, 10, 7 or 2). Slab **514** could be slab 5 but as the other side of the niche is not indicated, it could be slab 4 and **515** would then be slab 3. However, the sequence of slabs **513–516** could come from Room XXXIX (Y).

There is, of course, the possibility that Layard confused north and south in his description (as is, for example, the case of Room M in *LN* 2C, f. 8v). In that case the sequence of slabs as described in *LN* 2E, f. 32v-r, would be slab 5 (in the niche) = **509**, with the edge of slab 6 (**508**) forming the side of the niche, the corner slab 7 not drawn and **507** being 8 or 9. To the right of **509** we would have **510** to **513** as slabs 4 to 1 with the edge of the scene on **513** continuing onto the edge of the slab lining the entrance (although the inscription on the drawing implies it was a corner slab). This would leave **514** and **515** as two adjacent slabs between 14 and 10 on the south side.

ROOM XLVIII (M) (PLATES 404–413)

This room was at the junction of three passages. Entrances *b* (**223**) led from Room XII (L), and *c* (**464**) from Room XLII (N). It formed an anteroom to the equally broad passage XLIX (O) entered through an imposing columned entrance (**517**). The slabs are numbered clockwise from this entrance but numbers 9–14 along the east wall, though present on Layard's unpublished plan (PLATE 7) are missing on the plan published in *Nineveh and Babylon* (PLATE 13).

Layard, *LN* 2C, f. 8v; Layard, 1853a, pp. 103, 118–19; Paterson, 1915, p. 11; Gadd, 1936, p. 251; Wäfler, 1975, p. 370; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 69, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 79.

517 Entrance leading into Gallery XLIX (O).

The narrow passage (Room XLII (N)) . . . opened into a chamber 24 feet by 19, from which branched two other passages. The one to the west was entered by a wide doorway, in which stood two plain spherical stones about three feet high, having the appearance of the bases of columns,

although no traces of any such architectural ornament could be found. This was the entrance into a broad and spacious gallery, about 218 feet long and 25 wide.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 103)

The Entrance was lined with slabs: slab 1 (518) on the northwest jamb and slabs 21–22 (530) on the southeast jamb.

I have mentioned that the long gallery [Room XLIX (O)] . . . led out of a chamber, whose walls had been completely uncovered. The sculptures upon them were partly preserved, and recorded the conquest of a city standing on a broad river, in the midst of mountains and forests. The Assyrians appear to have entered the enemy's country by a valley, to have forded the stream frequently, and to have continued during their march along its banks. Warriors on foot led their horses, and dragged the chariots over precipitous rocks. On each side of the river were wooded hills, with small streams flowing amongst vineyards. As they drew near to the city, the Assyrians cut down the woods to clear the approaches. Amongst the branches of a tree exceeding the others in size, and standing immediately beneath the walls, were birds and two nests containing their young [523]. The sculptor probably introduced these accessories to denote the season of the year. The river appeared to flow through or behind the city. Long low walls with equidistant towers, the whole surmounted by cornices and angular battlements, stood on one side of the stream. Within the walls were large square buildings, curiously ornamented, and whose windows, immediately beneath the roof, were formed by small pillars with capitals in the form of the Ionic volute. The doors, except the entrance to the castle which was arched, were square, and, in some instances, surmounted by a plain cornice. That part of the city standing on the opposite side of the river, seemed to consist of a number of detached forts and houses, some of which had also open balustrades to admit the light. Flames issued from the dwellings, and on the towers were men apparently cutting down trees growing within the walls. Assyrian warriors, marching in a long line, carried away the spoil from the burning city. Some were laden with arms; others with furniture, chairs, stools, couches, and tables of various forms, ornamented with the heads and feet of animals. They were probably of metal, perhaps of gold or silver. The couches, or beds, borne by two men, had a curved head. Some of the chairs had high backs, and the tables resembled in shape the modern camp-stool.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 118–19)

518 Slabs 1 + the edge of 1 + 2 + 3 (corner): Led horses, Assyrian soldiers, and chariots, probably including the king's bodyguard, are advancing towards the right in two rows along the bank and along the bed of a broad river. There is a small tributary in hilly wooded country with vines. Slab 1 lined the entrance into Room XLIX (O) (see 517) and the scene continued on its edge, onto slab 2 (a short slab before the corner) and onto slab 3 which was largely destroyed.

518a Or.Dr. I, 36; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or by F. C. Cooper, on greyish paper, enhanced with white; 39 × 65 cm (55.7 cm); scale given: *1 inch & 1/2 to a foot* (1:8).

Annotation in pencil: *'Kouyunjik Chamber M Nos. 1. 2. 3.'*

PLATES 405, 406

519 Slabs 4 + 5 + 6: Not drawn, since only the bottom of these slabs remained (LN 2C, f. 8v).

[223] Entrance *b* leading into Room XII (L); lined with slabs 7 (520) and 8 (521).

520a Slab 7 lining the northwest jamb of Entrance *b* (223): Left part of Or.Dr. I, 37 (for description see 522a), representing a broad river with two rows of Assyrian soldiers marching along its bank or wading in it; other soldiers are cutting down a tall tree growing on the bank; wooded hills at the bottom.

PLATE 408

520b Alternative drawing of slab 7: Or.Dr. II, 57 upper; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper; signed *Henry A. Churchill*; 26 × 36.4 cm (30.8 cm); measurements given: H. *3 ft. 6*; W. *5 ft. (106.7 × 152.4 cm)*.

Annotation in pencil: *'Fragment at the end of No 2 gallery or series.'*

PLATE 409

521 Slab 8 lining the southeast jamb of Entrance *b* (223): Not drawn; Layard (LN 2C, f. 8v) describes the slabs as being very indistinct.

522 Slabs 9 + 10: Slab 9 shows two files of Assyrian soldiers marching towards the right or wading in a broad river; on slab 10, the left part of which has been destroyed, the Assyrian troops seem to have moved onto the further bank and advance in wooded mountainous country (the wheel of the king's chariot was preserved); below, the river with fish narrows and the wooded hills at the bottom become lower.

522a Right part of Or.Dr. I, 37 (see also 520); unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or by F. C. Cooper, on greyish paper, enhanced with white; 42.2 × 68.3 cm (slab 7: 24.8 cm; 9 & 10: 34.9 cm); scale given: *1 in 1/2 to the foot* (1:8).

Annotations in pencil: *'Kouyunjik Chamber M Nos. 7. 9. 10.'*

PLATE 407

523–525 Slabs 11 + 12 + 13: A city¹ is shown standing on two hills, between which apparently flows a broad river with fish. On the bank of the river is a tall tree with birds nesting in it, and two soldiers cut down trees; to the right of the city, which has already been captured, Assyrian soldiers carry away spoil: chairs, tables, beds, and other goods; some of the trees on the wooded hills below are inverted, suggesting a valley (cf. Room XXXVIII (V)).

Layard, 1853a, pp. 119, 647 (woodcut of detail of slab 11); Layard, 1853b, pl. 40; Perrot & Chipiez, 1884, pp. 140, 220, figs 39, 76 (details); Ball, 1899, pp. 176–7; Paterson, 1915, pls 83–4; Harden, 1962, pp. 134–5, fig. 37; Barnett, 1975, p. 146, fig. 153; Wäfler, 1975, pl. 6:2.

523a–525a Or.Dr. IV, 60; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on greyish paper, enhanced with white; 32.5 × 63.8 cm (63.2 cm); scale given: *1 in 1/2 to a foot* (1:8).

Annotation in pencil: *'Kouyunjik Chamber M Nos. 11. 12. 13.'*

Russell, 1991, pp. 70–1, fig. 39.

PLATES 410, 411, (detail) 413

Original unknown apart from two small fragments of slab 12:

524b Liverpool, The Merseyside County Museum 10-10-78. 33; 21.1 × 16 × 4.8 cm.

The upper part of the Assyrian soldier nearest the city, carrying a stool to right; mountain-scale pattern.

PLATE 413

524c Vatican 14983 (ex 5); 39 × 42 cm.

Fragment immediately to the right of **524b**, showing two Assyrian soldiers, each carrying a stool as spoil towards the right in mountainous country.

Weidner, 1939, p. 19, fig. 16.

PLATE 413

526 Slab 14 (corner): Not drawn; a continuation of the scene on slab 13 (**525**) with Assyrian soldiers carrying spoil from the city towards the right.

[**464**] Entrance *c* leading into Room XLII (N); lined with slabs (see **527**).

527 Slabs 15, 16 lining Entrance *c* (**464**): Not drawn; a continuation of the scene represented on slab 13 (**525**), perhaps with the addition of arms; very indistinct.

528 Slabs 17 + 18 + 19 (corner): Not drawn; as slabs 13–16 (**525–527**), with the right half of 19 probably showing part of the Assyrian camp continued on slab 20 (**529**).

529 Slab 20: Part of a fortified Assyrian camp in wooded mountainous country; inside this camp, an offering table and a hand-drawn chariot were partly preserved; below, Sennacherib sitting on his throne facing left, receiving captives introduced by Assyrian officers; two servants with fans behind the king; below them rows of tents of two different types; in an open tent, an animal is about to be slaughtered; a horse and soldier between two tents in the lower row.

The last bas-relief in the series represented the king seated within a fortified camp, on a throne of elaborate workmanship, and having beneath his feet a footstool of equally elegant form. He was receiving the captives, who wore long robes falling to their ankles. Unfortunately no inscription remained by which we might identify the conquered nation.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 119)

Layard, 1853b, pl. 36; Paterson, 1915, pl. 85; Gadd, 1936, p. 227 (wrongly equating a fragment in Istanbul with Layard 1853b, pl. 36 – see **695**); Deller, 1985, p. 356 (butcher slaughtering a ram in a tent); Magen, 1986, p. 160.

529a Or.Dr. IV, 61; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by F. C. Cooper, on light greyish paper, mountain scales enhanced in soft pencil; 43.8 × 50 cm (41.6 cm); *scale of 3 inches to a foot* (1:4).

Annotation in pencil: *No 20 Ch. M. Kouyunjik*.

PLATE 412

530 Slabs 21 + 22 lining the southeast jamb of the entrance (**517**) into Room XLIX (O): Not drawn; a river with palms and small trees like

a garden, with a horse above, but much defaced (*LN 2C*, f. 8v). Layard says the 'opposite' slab was 'gone'; this cannot be slab 1 (**518**) which was drawn, but could be slab 22 beyond the stone base.

Note

1. The distinctive architecture, including balustraded windows of the type depicted in Phoenician ivories, points to Phoenicia (see Harden, 1962, pp. 124–5; Barnett, 1975, pp. 145–7). However, the geographical location in mountainous country, dominating a gorge near the headwaters of a large river, would militate in favour of Layard's suggestion that the campaign took place in eastern Anatolia (1853a, p. 120 where 'western' is surely an error for 'eastern').

GALLERY XLIX (O) (PLATES 414–423)

This long gallery, probably open to the sky, was entered from Room XLVIII (M) through a columned entrance (**517**). Entrance *b* on the northwest side led to a sloping passage LI (T) descending towards the river. Entrance *c* at its southwest end led into Room L. As mentioned by Layard, the southeast side of this Gallery was completely destroyed, and a few slabs at its east end had been purposely defaced (perhaps preparatory to recarving) but slabs on the north side were drawn, numbering towards Room XLVIII (M).

The slabs on one side of this gallery had been entirely destroyed, except at the eastern end; and from the few which still remained, every trace of sculpture had been carefully removed by some sharp instrument. Along the opposite wall (that to the right on leaving the great hall) only eight bas-reliefs still stood in their original position, and even of these only the lower part was preserved. Detached fragments of others were found in the rubbish, and from them I ascertained that the whole gallery had been occupied by one continuous series, representing the different processes adopted by the Assyrians in moving and placing various objects used in their buildings, and especially the human-headed bulls, from the first transport of the huge stone in the rough from the quarry, to the raising of these gigantic sculptures in the gateways of the palace-temples. On these fragments were seen the king in his chariot, superintending the operations, and workmen carrying cables, or dragging carts loaded with coils of ropes, and various implements for moving the colossi. Enough, however, did not remain to restore any one series of bas-reliefs, but fortunately, on the slabs still standing, was represented the first process, that of bringing the stone from the quarry, whilst those on the northern walls of the great hall [Court VI] furnished many of the subjects which were here wanting. Amongst the scattered fragments was the figure of a lion-headed man raising a sword which does not appear to have belonged to this gallery, unless it had been used to break the monotony of one long line of elaborate bas-reliefs representing nearly the same subject. Similar figures only occur at entrances in the ruins of Kouyunjik.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 104)

Layard, *LN 2C*, f. 9r; Layard, 1853a, pp. 103–4, 338; Smith, 1875, pp. 145–6; Paterson, 1915, p. 11; Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 60; Gadd, 1936, p. 251; Wäfler, 1975, p. 370; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 69, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 79.

Inscribed fragments were recorded by Layard as follows:

From the long gallery, which appears to have been panelled with bas-reliefs, describing the removal of more than one object employed in the construction of the palace, we have unfortunately only three fragments of inscriptions without the sculptured representations of the events recorded. The most perfect is interesting on more than one account. According to Dr. Hincks it is to be translated:-

'Sennacherib, king of Assyria . . . (some object, the nature not ascertained) of wood, which from the Tigris I caused to be brought up (*through?*) the Kharri, or Khasri, on sledges (or boats), I caused to be carried (or to mount).'

In the fragment of another epigraph, we have mention of some objects of wood 'brought from Mount Lebanon, and taken up (to the top of the mound) from the Tigris.'

On a third fragment similar objects are described as coming from or up the same Kharri or Khasri. (Layard, 1853a, p. 118)

One of these inscriptions may be shown on the slab in the left foreground of Malan's water-colour (531b).

531 Entrance slab: Found beyond the drawn slabs on the northwest side of the Gallery but not *in situ*.

A lion-headed figure, holding a dagger in his raised right hand, facing right; feet missing; fragment broken into two halves.

Layard, 1853a, opp. p. 104 (lithography by N. Chevalier); Gadd, 1936, p. 172; Green, 1986a, p. 198, pl. 19, no. 82.

531a Or.Dr. IV, 64; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on light brownish paper; 44.1 × 30.7 cm (21.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *from Chamber O Kouyunjik*.

PLATE 416

531b Water-colour by Malan (f. 24, no. 107), showing the upper part of the slab as found, 533 in the left foreground and 534 beyond it; 29 × 21 cm.

Annotation in pencil: *Kouyunjik. June 10th* [1850].

PLATE 415

531c Original in London, BM WA 124826 (51-9-2, 31); 178.5 × 118.1 cm; two joined fragments.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 111–112, no. 60; Paterson, 1915, pl. 86; Gadd, 1936, p. 172; Smith, 1938, p. 16, pl. XXXVI; Green, 1986a, p. 198, pl. 19, no. 82.

PLATE 416

532 Slab depicting Sennacherib supervising operations, with an inscription (not recorded) above (LVN2C, f. 9r).

The following fragments may belong to this slab or at least to this Gallery:¹

532a Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1933–1669 (ex 2); 53 × 55.8 cm. Fragment showing upper part of King Sennacherib under his sunshade, behind him a hand with a fly whisk.

Leeds, 1933, p. 7; Weidner, 1939, pp. 88–90, Abb. 74; Magen, 1986, p. 160, pl. 6:1.

PLATE 417

532b Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Newbury Loan 3: 68 × 89 × 7.6 cm.

Assyrian officers of Sennacherib's bodyguard advancing towards the left, followed by two servants pulling the king's rickshaw, and two more officers following.

Reade, 1972, p. 108, pl. XXXIVb.

PLATE 417

532c or **533** Honolulu Academy of Arts, HAA 3608; gift of Mrs Charles M. Cook (ex Collection of Mr H. Hornstein, Jerusalem); 67 × 72 cm.

Four Assyrian officers holding maces, advancing towards the left. These figures are larger than those behind Sennacherib's rickshaw in Court VI (I) but note the differences in size of the figures on **532b**.

Porada, 1983, pp. 17–18, pl. III.

PLATE 417

533 Slab shown in the left foreground of Malan's water-colour (531b):

On an upper register are figures facing left, probably courtiers behind Sennacherib, with a two-line inscription above (see also 534); the lower register shows equipment being moved, as on 150 from Court VI and, like it, in reverse direction to the slabs in the sequence (i.e. in this case to left instead of to right).

534 Slab 1: Not drawn; perhaps this is the propped slab shown standing to a considerable height to the right of 533 on Malan's water-colour (531b).

535 Slabs 2 + 3 + 4:

A huge block of stone (probably of the alabaster²¹ used in the Assyrian edifices), somewhat elongated in form so as to resemble an obelisk in the rough, is lying on a low flat-bottomed boat floating on a river. It has probably been towed down the Tigris from some quarry, and is to be landed near the site of the intended palace, to be carved by the sculptor into the form of a colossal bull. It exceeds the boat considerably in length, projecting beyond both the head and stern, and is held by upright beams fastened to the sides of the vessel, and kept firm in their places by wooden wedges. Two cables are passed through holes cut in the stone itself, and a third is tied to a strong pin projecting from the head of the boat. Each cable is held by a large body of men, who pull by means of small ropes fastened to it and passed round their shoulders. Some of these trackers walk in the water, others on dry land. The number altogether represented must have been nearly 300, about 100 to each cable, and they appear to be divided into distinct bands, each distinguished by a peculiar costume. Some wear a kind of embroidered turban, through which their long hair is gathered behind; the heads of others are encircled by a fringed shawl, whose ends hang over the ears and neck, leaving the hair to fall in long curls upon the shoulders. Many are represented naked, but the greater number are dressed in short chequered tunics, with a long fringe attached to the girdle. They are urged on by taskmasters armed with swords and staves. The boat is also pushed by men wading through the stream. An overseer, who regulates the whole proceedings, is seated astride on the fore-part of the stone. His hands are stretched out in the act of giving

commands. The upper part of all the bas-reliefs having unfortunately been destroyed, it cannot be ascertained what figures were represented above the trackers; probably Assyrian warriors drawn up in martial array, or may be the king himself in his chariot, accompanied by his body-guard, and presiding over the operations.

The huge stone having been landed, and carved by the Assyrian sculptor into the form of a colossal human-headed bull, is to be moved from the bank of the river to the site it is meant to occupy permanently in the palace-temple. This process is represented on the walls of the great hall [Court VI]. From these bas-reliefs, as well as from discoveries to be hereafter mentioned, it is therefore evident that the Assyrians sculptured their gigantic figures before, and not after, the slabs had been raised in the edifice, although all the details and the finishing touches were not put in, as it will be seen, until they had been finally placed. I am still, however, of opinion, that the smaller bas-reliefs were entirely executed after the slabs had been attached to the walls.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 104–6)

Layard, 1853b, pl. 10; Paterson, 1915, pl. 87 lower; Hrouda, 1964, p. 20, fig. 7.

535a Or.Dr. IV, 62; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 33.7 × 67.3 cm (63.5 cm).

Annotations in pencil: *'Kouyunjik chamber O Nos 2. 3. 4; X to be cut off (indicating the part of the relief on the left to be omitted in Monuments of Nineveh).*

Russell, 1991, pp. 166–7, fig. 86; SAA I, fig. 18a.

PLATES 418, 419

536 Slabs 5 + 6 + 7: Three rows of men, pulling ropes towards the right; their costumes indicate that they are captives from various campaigns, including Judaeans (see head-dresses); on the left half of slab 5 they are still in the river.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 11; Paterson, 1915, pl. 87 upper; Strommenger, 1966, p. 113.

536a Or.Dr. IV, 63; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 27.3 × 60.3 cm (57.9 cm); *Scale 1 inch & 1/4 to a foot (1:9.6).*

Annotation in pencil: *'Kouyunjik Chamber O. Nos 5. 6. 7.'*

SAA I, fig. 18b.

PLATES 420, 421, 422

The following fragments may have come from slabs 3–5 (**535–536**).³

537 Vatican 15004 (ex 21); 17 × 21 cm.

Upper part of two men, probably Judaeans (see head-dresses), pulling a rope towards the right, with water in the background.

Weidner, 1939, p. 23–4, fig. 23.

PLATE 422

538 Vatican 15000 (ex 17); 24.5 × 23 cm.

Small fragment showing parts of two men pulling a rope to right, with water in the background.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 23–4, fig. 22.

PLATE 422

539 Vatican 15005 (ex 22); 13 × 10 cm.

Small fragment showing the head of a bearded man facing right, probably pulling a rope, with water in the background.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 24–5, fig. 24.

PLATE 423

540 Vatican 15003 (ex 20); 20 × 21.6 cm.

Small fragment showing water with fish; the treatment of the water is similar to that in **535–536** but fish are only shown on **535a**, slab 2.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 24–5, fig. 25.

PLATE 423

The following fragment may have come from slabs 5–7 (**536**):

541 Como, Civico Museo Archeologico 'Giovio', no. 2; the hand-written inscription on the back of this fragment shows that it was in Layard's private collection until 1864; 11 × 10 cm.

Head and upper part of a bearded man, pulling the rope towards the right.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 64–6, figs 55, 56 (obverse and reverse).

PLATE 423

542 Fragment from a further slab, perhaps slab 8; Florence, Museo Archeologico 93806; 29.8 × 22 × 4.5 cm.

The first and the second man on a rope pulling towards the right; the first has wound the end round his body; another rope runs under their feet.

Pohl, 1949, l. VII; Weidner, 1945–51, p. 140; de Agostino, 1968, pp. 67 ff.

PLATE 423

543 A relief showing two rows of five or six deportees each, hauling on ropes towards the right, with Judaeans in the lower row, was photographed by John Russell in Nineveh in 1990 where it was in storage in Room V. It shows damage by vertical rivulets of water. It was reported stolen in 1995; Russell, 1997, p. 10, fig. 6.

544 Entrance *b* leading into Passage LI (T).

545 Entrance *c* leading into Room L.

Notes

1 Reade (1972, p. 109) attributes these fragments to Court VI, (I). If this were correct, the height of the figures catalogued here should match those of Court VI, but they are about a quarter taller (see also 142).

2 The stone probably came from quarries near the town of Tasiate (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 104, line 65), which was situated on the west bank of the Tigris.

3 In Court VI (I) the colossal stones for the entrance-figures of the Palace are pulled towards the left, whereas in Gallery XLIX (O) they are pulled towards the right, with a river behind. (See also the note appended to 142.)

ROOM L

Entrance *c* (5+5) led from Gallery XLIX (O) into Room L, which is shown in Layard's plan (PLATE 10) as having been lined by slabs. Most of the room was probably destroyed, because it is situated close to the slope of the mound; it is not mentioned in Layard's notebooks or marked on his early unpublished plan (PLATES 6–7).

ROOM LI (ZZ) (PLATES 424–431)

This room lay on the south side of Gallery XLIX (O) and is sometimes referred as LI (S) to distinguish it from the sloping passage on the north side of the Gallery which was also numbered LI (or LI (N)). Here the letters assigned by Layard will be used to differentiate the rooms (ZZ and T). The room was excavated by Ross and forms part of a separate suite not accessible from Gallery XLIX (O). Entrances *a* (546) and *b* (547) led into Rooms LII and LIII. The slabs in this room were not numbered by Layard (see PLATE 10). Date-palms and reeds probably indicate that this was one of Sennacherib's campaigns in southern Babylonia. Drawings of the lower parts of seven slabs are known.

The walls of two chambers had been laid bare. In one [Room LI (ZZ)] the lower part of a long series of sculptures was still partly preserved, but the upper had been completely destroyed, the very alabaster itself having disappeared. The bas-reliefs recorded the subjection by the Assyrian king of a nation inhabiting the banks of a river. The captive women are distinguished by long embroidered robes fringed with tassels, and the castles have a peculiar wedge-shaped ornament on the walls. The towns probably stood in the midst of marshes, as they appear to be surrounded by canes or reeds, as well as by groves of palm trees. The Assyrians having captured the strong places by escalade, carried the inhabitants into captivity, and drove away cattle, camels, and carts drawn by oxen. Some of the men bear large baskets of osier work, and the women vases or cauldrons. The king, standing in his chariot, attended by his warriors, and preceded by an eunuch registering the number of prisoners and the amount of the spoil, receives the conquered chiefs. Not a vestige of inscription remains to record the name of the vanquished people; but we may conjecture, from the river and the palm trees, that they inhabited some district in southern Mesopotamia. They were, probably, one of the numerous Arab tribes who lived in the marshes formed by the Euphrates and Tigris, and took advantage, as their descendants do to this day, of their almost inaccessible position in the midst of vast swamps to be in continual rebellion against the supreme government. Many of these tribes, it will hereafter be seen, are mentioned amongst the southern conquests of the king who built the palace.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 67–8)

Layard, 1849a, II, p. 140; Layard, 1853a, pp. 67–9; Ross, 1902, p. 149; Paterson, 1915, p. 11; Gadd, 1936, p. 251; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 69–72 (quoting additional information from Ross); Russell, 1995, p. 83.

546 Entrance *a* leading into Room LII.

547 Entrance *b* leading into Room LIII.

In the southern wall of this chamber was a doorway formed by plain, upright slabs of a close-grained magnesian limestone, almost as hard

as flint; between them were two small, crouching lions, in the usual alabaster.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 68–9)

548–549 Lower parts of two slabs showing a captured city and a row of palm-trees on the bank of a small river with fish at the bottom; deportees with their goods are advancing towards the right; the wheel of a chariot on the right edge.

550–551 Lower parts of two slabs. That on the left is the better preserved and shows two scribes beside large palm-trees receiving spoil brought by soldiers; behind them a row of spearmen, probably the king's body-guard, followed by the horses of Sennacherib's chariot; a river with fish at the bottom. Of the right slab only the lower part of the lower registers was preserved, with the wheel of the king's chariot, two soldiers, and led horses with soldiers; at the bottom the small river with fish continues.

548a–551a Or.Dr. IV, 79; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by F. C. Cooper, on greenish-grey paper, enhanced with white; 33.6 × 61.6 cm (upper: 43.5 cm; lower: 54.9 cm); *Scale of 1 inch and a half* [to the foot] (1:8).

Annotation in pencil: 'Chamber ZZ (*Kouyunjik*)'.

PLATES 425, 426, 427

552 Slab (?): Two rows of reeds and a fortified city with towers with what appear to be small square windows, one above the other, and palm-trees growing inside the city; it stands on the bank of a small river, shown at the bottom, filled with a double row of fish. For the continuation of the scene to the right, see 555.

Layard, 1853a, p. 68 (woodcut); Paterson, 1915, p. 14, pl. 94 middle (reproduction of Layard's woodcut).

553 Slab (?): A soldier following a cart drawn by bullocks, and four bearded men, presumably deportees, all advancing towards the right; a camel (*Camelus dromedarius*), the head of which would have been on the following slab, is depicted on the right edge; behind them is a row of palm-trees; the river at the bottom, with a double row of fish, continues.

554 Slab (?): A man in a long robe on the left edge, facing left, probably one of a pair of scribes, counting the prisoners and the spoil; five soldiers of the king's bodyguard, followed by the horses of the king's chariot, only the lower part of which remained, with a row of soldiers behind; the row of palms and the river at the bottom with a double row of fish is continued.

552a–554a Or.Dr. I, 51; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, on greenish-brown paper, enhanced with white; 43.4 × 67.2 cm (left: 14.8 cm; middle: 23.1 cm; right: 24.6 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Chamber ZZ. *Kouyunjik*'; miscopied in ink 'LL'. Russell, 1991, pp. 72–3, fig. 40.

PLATES 428, 429

553b Alternative drawing of the middle slab shown in Or.Dr. I, 51 (553a): Or.Dr. II, 74; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 37.3 × 55.7 cm (52.5 cm); measurements given: *H. 4 ft.; W. 7 ft.* (122 × 213.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'A'.

This differs considerably from drawing 553a. Much less of the upper portion is shown, and the figure in the short garment is gripping the arm of the figure behind him with his right hand. Or.Dr. I, 51 shows all four figures with beards so they must all be men.

PLATE 430

554b Alternative drawing of the right slab shown in Or.Dr. I, 51 (554a): Or.Dr. II, 71; pencil drawing on whitish cartridge paper, signed *H. A. Churchill*; 36.2 × 55.7 cm (52.5 cm); dimensions given: H. 3 ft. 6 in.; W. 7 ft. 7 in. (106.7 × 231.1 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'B'.

This differs from drawing 554a in including a crab among the fish in the stream; there are also differences in the way the harness is depicted.

PLATE 430

555 Fragment belonging to a slab to the right of 552: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1979.994; 'Bomford Acquisition'; ex Canford School; surface damaged by fire; 69 × 76.2 cm.

Male and female deportees are being driven out of their city; two carry large baskets on their heads; the city (with square windows, on the bank of a river with two rows of fish) is the continuation of that shown on 552. Ross, 1902, p. 151; *Illustrated London News*, 7 November 1959, p. 601 (top left); Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London, 16 November 1959, p. 13, lot 56; Weidner, 1959–60, p. 191; Smith, 1960, p. 57, n. 15; Russell, 1991, p. 287.

PLATE 431

SLOPING PASSAGE LI (T) (PLATES 432–449)

This was a narrow sloping passage at the northwest end of Gallery XLIX (O), with which it was connected through Entrance *b* (544). The passage narrowed halfway down its length, and at the end of it there was another doorway (556) with a recess to one side of it. The passage turned towards the northwest and probably continued its descent but was not excavated further (see Turner in Chapter 3 for more details). The northwestern side of this passage shows a procession of servants ascending towards the right, while the southeastern wall is decorated with a file of led horses without trappings, and grooms descending, again towards the right. The drawings do not indicate it but the actual slabs show that the floor of the passage sloped sometimes sharply (e.g. 568b), but the ceiling was stepped (e.g. 567a).

Although no hunting scenes have been found in Sennacherib's palace, Reade (1972, pp. 100–1) suggests that there may be some, as yet unexcavated, and that the procession of Gallery LI (T) may show attendants going to and from the hunt. The known hunt reliefs, however, show details, such as the equipment carried, which would normally indicate their connection with hunting, so a more likely interpretation of these reliefs is that they show the return from a campaign, and the celebration of the victory by a large banquet.

An outlet was discovered near [the] western end [of Gallery XLIX], opening into a narrow descending passage; an entrance, it would appear,

into the palace from the river side. Its length was ninety-six feet, its breadth not more than thirteen. The walls were panelled with sculptured slabs about six feet high. ([Footnote:] The figures are about 4 1/4 feet in height.) Those to the right, in descending, represented a procession of servants carrying fruit, flowers, game, and supplies for a banquet, preceded by mace-bearers. The first servant following the guard bore an object which I should not hesitate to identify with the pinecone, unless there were every reason to believe that the Assyrians were unacquainted with that fruit. The leaves sprouting from the top proved that it was not the cone of a pine tree or fir. After all, the sacred symbol held by the winged figures in the Assyrian sculptures, may be the same fruit, and not, as I have conjectured, that of a coniferous tree.

The attendants who followed carried clusters of ripe dates and flat baskets of osier-work, filled with pomegranates, apples, and bunches of grapes. They raised in one hand small green boughs to drive away the flies. Then came men bearing hares, partridges, and dried locusts fastened on rods. The locust has ever been an article of food in the East, and is still sold in the markets of many towns in Arabia. Being introduced in this bas-relief amongst the choice delicacies of a banquet, it was probably highly prized by the Assyrians.

The locust-bearers were followed by a man with strings of pomegranates; then came, two by two, attendants carrying on their shoulders low tables, such as are still used in the East at feasts, loaded with baskets of cakes and fruits of various kinds. The procession was finished by a long line of servants bearing vases of flowers. These figures were dressed in a short tunic, confined at the waist by a shawl or girdle. They wore no head-gear, their hair falling in curls on their shoulders.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 338, 340)

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 74–5, nos 41–3; Paterson, 1915, p. 12; Gadd, 1936, pp. 168–70; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 69, 342.

556 Doorway at the southwestern end of the passage, lined with slabs 40 (585) and 1–3 (557–558).

557–562 Slabs 1 + 2 [3 (corner)] 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 (corner): Procession of attendants carrying vases of flowers.

563–567 Slabs 8 + 9 + 10 + 11 + 12 (corner): Procession of attendants carrying trays of food, pomegranates and locusts.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 8 (not slab 3); Paterson, 1915, pl. 88 (slabs 1–2, 4–11); Potratz, 1962, pp. 381–96, pl. 8, fig. 25.

557a–567a Or.Dr. IV, 69; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on light greyish paper; 37.1 × 64 cm (upper [slabs 1–2, 4–7]: 61 cm; lower [slabs 13–17]: 53.3 cm); *Scale 1 inch to a foot* (1:12); ruled scale at the bottom.

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11 & 12. Ch. T Kouyunjik'.

NB Slab 3 not drawn; slabs 8–11 are the same height in the drawing but are actually of decreasing height; slab 12 was taller to take account of a step in the ceiling.

SAA I, fig. 37.

PLATES 433, 434, 435, 436

560b Fragment from the right edge of slab 5 in Istanbul, AM 21; 59 × 34 cm.

Vase, hand, head and shoulders of attendant.

Gadd, 1936, p. 225.

PLATE 434

565b–566b Original of slabs 10 + 11 in London, BM WA 124799a + b (51-9-2, 10); 266.7 × 152.4 cm.

Gadd, 1936, p. 169; Smith, 1938, pl. LXVIII.

PLATES 437, (detail) 436

566c Water-colour by Malan of part of slab 11 in the upper left corner (f. 45, no. 1+5: together with sketches of the excavations and a Kurdish house below and to the right); 12.9 × 18.4 cm.

PLATE 436

568–572 Slabs 13 + 14 + 15 + 16 + 17: Procession of attendants carrying locusts, birds, hares and trays of fruit; two figures at the front seem to be of higher rank, as they are dressed in long robes, and hold in their raised right hands an especially precious fruit like a pineapple.¹ The three men at the right are probably of the king's bodyguard, leading the file of food-bearers to the king.

Layard, 1853a, p. 339 (woodcut of slab 13); Layard, 1853b, pl. 9; Paterson, 1915, pl. 89 (slabs 12–17); Meissner, 1920a, Abb. 45 (slab 12); Bottéro, 1985, p. 37.

568a–572a Or.Dr. IV, 70; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper on light greyish paper; 38.1 × 51.1 cm (upper [slabs 13–14]: 25.4 cm; lower [slabs 15–17]: 44.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17 Ch. T Kouyunjik'.

Slab 13 lined a projection of the wall; its edges, one with the continuation of the scene, are shown in the drawing (the left edge was omitted in Layard, 1853b, pl. 9, and 'cut' has been pencilled in on the drawing). Like 12, slabs 13 and 14 are taller to account for a step in the ceiling. Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 73–4, nos 36–40; Russell, 1991, p. 168, fig. 87; *SAA* II, fig. 17.

PLATES 438, 440, 441

568b Original of slab 13 in London, BM WA 124798 (51-9-2, 11) 202 × 165.1 cm.

Three servants carrying dried locusts, birds (probably partridges), and hares. See Malan's water-colour (576b) which shows this slab *in situ* in the right foreground (also in Layard, 1853a, opp. p. 340).

Budge, 1922, p. 54; Smith, 1938, p. 19, pl. LXIX.

PLATES 439, (details) 438, 439

573 Slabs 18 + 19 + 20 + 21: Not drawn; the file of the king's bodyguard was probably continued, perhaps with Sennacherib himself receiving the gifts² for a special feast, but this end of the passage was entirely destroyed.

[544] Entrance *b* leading into Gallery XLIX (O).

The wall opposite slabs 19–14 was lined with slabs 22–28.

On the opposite walls of the passage were fourteen horses without trappings, each horse having a simple halter twisted round its lower jaw, by which it was led by a groom. The animals and men were designed

with considerable truth and spirit. The procession was marshalled by a staff-bearer, or chamberlain. The dresses of the grooms were richer than those of the banquet-bearers. They wore a short tunic and an embroidered belt, and to this was attached that ornament of fur, or colored fringe, peculiar to the costumes of the warriors of the later Assyrian period.

It is probable that the sculptures forming the upper end of the passage, but now entirely destroyed, represented the king receiving this double procession. The passage may have led to the banqueting-hall, or to a chamber, where royal feasts were sometimes held, and was therefore adorned with appropriate subjects. At its western end the gallery turned abruptly to the north, its walls being there built of solid stone-masonry. I lost all further traces of it, as the workmen were unable, at that time, to carry on the tunnel beneath an accumulated mass of earth and rubbish about forty feet thick. I did not, consequently, ascertain its western outlet. We had, however, nearly reached the edge of the mound; and as there was no space left for a chamber of any size beyond, this passage may have opened on a flight of steps, or on an incline leading from the river, and forming a kind of private entrance or postern into the palace.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 340)

574 Slabs 22 + 23 + 24 + 25 + 26 + 27: Not drawn; those at the upper (southeastern) end were destroyed; led horses with attendants were probably represented in the same way on the following slabs. For possible originals see 584.

575–583 Slabs 28 (corner + edge) [29] 30 + 31 + 32 + 33 + 34 + 35 + 36: A taller slab (28) with a figure holding a staff facing right; three horses without trappings and the hindpart of a fourth with four grooms, facing right, descending, on slabs 30–33.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 7; Paterson, 1915, pl. 90; Gadd, 1936, pp. 168 f.

575a, 577a–583a Or.Dr. IV, 71; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on light greyish paper; size of paper: 38.4 × 56.5 cm (upper [slabs 28, 30–33]: 51.7 cm; lower [slabs 34–36]: 51.4 cm); scale of 1-1/8 inches to the foot ruled at the bottom (1:10.6). Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 29 [sic] 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. Ch. LI Kouyunjik';³ there are traces of erasure and rewriting of the numbers and LI looks more like II.

NB The edge of slab 28 and the whole of slab 29 were not drawn (see 576a).

PLATES 442, 444, 446, 447

575b Original of slab 28, London, BM WA 124797a (51-9-2, 12a); 208 × 186 cm.

An Assyrian soldier carrying a stick in his left hand, advances towards the right. This slab forms the left side of the projection opposite slab 13 (568), and the tail of the horse on the adjoining slab (slab 29, 576a) appears on its right edge.

[According to Paterson (1915, p. 4), a cast of a standard inscription taken from the back of the slab, Nineveh Gallery 39 (575–576), duplicating, with one variant, that at Entrance *e* in Throneroom I (B) (22), was held by the British Museum (1911). There is no mention of this in Pinches (1883, pp. 73–4), and it could not be traced in 1989. TCM]

Budge, 1922, p. 54; Gadd, 1936, p. 168; Smith, 1938, pl. LXVII.

PLATE 443

576a Original of slab 29 (not drawn) in London, BM WA 124797b (51-9-2, 12b); 177.8 cm, H. right side 209.6 cm, W. 161.3 cm.

Led horse with trappings, with an attendant holding its reins. The tail of the horse continues onto the edge of 575.⁴

PLATE 443

576b Water-colour by Malan (f. 27 no. 110); 28.2 × 20.3 cm.

Annotation in pencil: '*At Koyunjik.*'; originally dated but date cut from paper.

Part of slab 29 is shown on the projection on the left. The slabs beyond are probably slabs 31–32 (578–579) but the division into slabs has been wrongly indicated. On the right is the projection opposite slab 29 – a sketchy rendition of slab 13 (568) even more inaccurately depicted on 576c.

PLATE 449

576c Lithograph of 576a by N. Chevalier reproduced from Layard, 1853a, opp. p. 340.

Gadd, 1936, p. 168; Smith, 1938, pl. LXVII.

PLATE 449

577b–579b Originals of slabs 30 (right side of projection) + 31 + 32 in London, BM WA 124796a-c (51-9-2, 13); H. left side, 152.4 cm; H. right side, 167.6 cm; W. 141 cm.

The left horse is suddenly drawn back by a soldier, who is turning his head back; the second horse is being led by another soldier at its head; hindquarters of a third horse on the right. See 576b for Malan's water-colour of the slabs *in situ*.

Hall, 1928, pl. XXXII; Gadd, 1936, p. 168; Smith, 1938, p. 19, pl. LXVI.

PLATES 443, 445

584 Originals of two adjoining slabs between 23(?)–27 or 42–46 in London, BM WA 124795a + b (51-9-2, 14); H. left side, 148.6 cm; H. right side, 162.6 cm; W. 124.5 + 152.4 cm; gypsum.

These two joining slabs represent the forepart of a horse being led by a soldier and an entirely preserved horse without trappings, being led by a second attendant.

Paterson, 1915, pl. 98, no. 36; Gadd, 1936, p. 168; Smith, 1938, p. 19, pl. LXV.

PLATE 448

585 Slabs 37–46: Probably not drawn; for possible surviving original slabs see 584.

Notes

- 1 This 'pine-apple-like' fruit (Bonavia, 1894, pp. 67–8) cannot at present be identified with any oriental fruit known in nature (see Bleibtreu, 1980, pp. 187–8).
- 2 The decoration of the northwest wall of Gallery LI (T) recalls later gift-bearer processions; it may be valid to interpret this procession of servants and the king's bodyguard in the same way as those e.g. at Persepolis. See Calmeyer, 1980.

3 The annotation to the drawing gives the numbers of ten slabs (29–38), while only eight are represented. Gadd (1936, p. 168) demonstrated conclusively that the slabs illustrated were 28, and 30–36.

4 Note that the projection on the south side of the passage was deeper than that formed by slab 13 (568) and was not as drawn by Layard (PLATES 6 and 10).

ROOM LII

This room lies to the northeast of Room LI (ZZ) from which it was entered through Entrance *a* (546). It was excavated by Ross. It is shown as having been lined with slabs, but they remained unnumbered on Layard's plan (PLATE 10) and the room is not mentioned in his notebooks.

Layard, 1853a, p. 103; Paterson, 1915, p. 11; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 72, 342.

ROOM LIII

Entrance *b* (547) led from Room LI (ZZ):

... into a further room, of which only a small part had been explored.

The walls were panelled with unsculptured slabs of the same compact limestone [as lined Entrance *b* (547)].

(Layard, 1853a, p. 69)

Paterson, 1915, p. 12; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 72, 342.

586 Entrance *c* leading into Room LV (QQ).

587 Entrance *d* leading into Room LIV.

ROOM LIV AND THE SOUTHWEST FAÇADE

This large room formed part of an impressive suite (cf. Turner in Chapter 3, above) but on Layard's plan (PLATE 10) it appears in outline only and the exterior façade seems to have been excavated separately. However, there may have been a further range of rooms between this façade, which was re-excavated by L. W. King in 1903, and the suite of rooms LI–LIV since King estimated the façade to be further towards the southwest than Layard had located it. Reade (1979a, p. 87) has proposed, in his restored plan of the excavated part of Sennacherib's place, that this line of rooms on the southwest was a façade of the *bit-hilani* type. King found a terrace 30 feet (c. 9.4 m) broad, running along the southwest façade of the palace (see Turner in Chapter 3).

No slabs are shown lining Room LIV in Layard's plan, apart from those in Entrance *f* (592), and the room is not mentioned in Layard's notebooks.

Layard, 1853a, p. 645; Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, pp. 60–1; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 73, 342.

[587] Entrance *d* from Room LIII.

588–590 Entrances *a*, *b* and *c* of the southwest façade, described (Layard, 1853a, p. 645) as being 'formed by five pairs of human-headed bulls, and numerous colossal figures forming three distinct gateways'. A hero holding lions was found by King (Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 61). Two of King's photographs (**788** and **789**) may show one of these bulls.
Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, pp. 31–2, nos 24–8.

591 Entrance *e* leading into Room LV (QQ) on the (north)east side of Room LIV

592 Entrance *f* leading into Room LVI (RR) on the (south)east side of Room LIV.

593 (Double-)Entrance, the northern part of which was 'apparently sculptured with mountains, trees etc.' (Russell, 1995, p. 83), leading into Room SS (LVII, *q.v.*), the southern end of Room LIV.

594 The exterior wall of the palace was sculptured with representations of Sennacherib's campaigns to southern Babylonia and the Gulf. The fragment in Baghdad, IM 26230 (**352**) may have come from this exterior wall rather than from Room XXVIII (FF). Another fragment which might belong here is **614**. Perhaps this is the area described by Ross (1902, p. 144):

I am digging in the S. W. corner, and half tablets of chariots and horsemen are coming out in regular series, and apparently leading to something good. But the depth of the trench is tremendous, and with the few men I have the work proceeds slowly.

ROOM LV (QQ)

This room was only partly excavated and those sections were lined with slabs according to Layard's plan (PLATE 10), but there is no mention of it except in Layard's transcript (Russell, 1995, p. 82) where it is stated that the room was 'surrounded by low slabs of very fine white limestone'. The walls seem to have been extremely thick, possibly to carry a second floor. Entrance *c* (**586**) led from Room LIII, and Entrance *e* (**591**) from Room LIV.

Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 73, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 82.

595 Entrance *g* leading into Room LVI.

ROOM LVI (RR)

This almost square room formed part of the impressive reception suite on the southwest side of the palace. Only a few unnumbered slabs are represented in Layard's plan (PLATE 10) close to Entrance *f*. Entrance *f* (**592**) led from Room LIV, and Entrance *g* (**595**) from Room LV (QQ).

Layard, 1853a, p. 586; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 73, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 82.

ROOM SS (LVII)

The number of this room does not appear on Layard's plan (PLATE 10) but Paterson assigned it to the southward extension of Room LIV. It seems that Loftus excavated a wall separating this area from Room LIV (Turner, Chapter 3 above), creating a double-entrance.

Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 34v; Layard, 1853a, p. 586; Paterson, 1915, p. 12; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 73, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 83.

[**593**] (Double-)Entrance from Room LIV.

596 Entrance *g* leading into Room LVIII (TT).

597 Reliefs on the southeast (and northeast?) side(s) showed the assault of a city in mountainous country with archers. Captives were leaving the city, the women wearing tall, conical head-dresses (sketched; *LN* 2E, f. 34v). No other drawings and no originals are known.

ROOM LVIII (TT)

Slabs are marked, but not numbered on Layard's plan (PLATE 10). The information here is based on Layard's notebooks and transcription.

Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 34v-r; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 73, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 83.

[**596**] Entrance *g* from Room LVII (SS); according to Layard's notebook, this entrance was not apparently located during the excavation of this room.

598 Entrance *h* leading into Room LIX (UU). Lined with two colossal figures on each side, facing northeast, the second having eagle's feet.

599 On the south side, a relief depicts a city surrounded by rivers with Assyrians on the towers and bullock carts leaving it.

ROOM LIX (UU)

This room was probably the bathroom of the reception suite centring on Room LIV; it had a recess in its northwest wall. All the walls of this room were lined with slabs but were unnumbered on Layard's plan (PLATE 10). Entrance *h* (**598**) led from Room LVIII (TT).

Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 34v; Layard, 1853a, p. 588; Reade, 1972, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 73, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 83.

600 There seem to have been mountains at the bottom, then a river, warriors fighting, horses etc. . . (*LN* 2E, f. 34v) 'divided into compartments as in Chamber K [Room XIV]' (Russell, 1995, p. 83).

ROOM LX (WW)

This area, labelled 'South-East Façade' on Layard's and Paterson's plans, may originally have been divided into two or three rooms or may have been a terrace (Turner, Chapter 3). Its southwest and west sides are shown lined with slabs, but only two of these are numbered on Layard's plan – slabs 1 and 2 at the western corner, to the right of the entrance into Room YY (602).

Layard, *LN 2E*, f. 34r under YY and WW; Layard, 1853a, p. 460; Paterson, 1915, p. 12; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 73–4, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 83.

601

The outer walls ... had been panelled with the usual alabaster slabs, with bas-reliefs of a campaign in a country already represented in another part of the palace [Room XXXVIII (V)],¹¹ and distinguished by the same deep valley watered by a river, the vineyards and wooded mountains. Over one of the castles captured and destroyed by the Assyrians was written, 'Sennacherib, King of Assyria. The city of Bit-Kubitalmi I took, the spoil I carried away, (the city) I burned.'

Whether these walls belonged to a chamber or formed part of the southern face of the palace could not now be determined, as they were on the very brink of the platform.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 460)

The Bit-Kubitalmi of Layard's quotation is to be identified as Bit-Kubatti, a town situated at the foot of the Zagros in the province of Arrapha.

Inscription:

- 1 Bit-Kubatti I besieged, I conquered,
- 2 I carried off its spoil, with fire I burned it.²

If the reading proposed for the inscription on 452 is correct, then that slab depicted the same city. Or. Dr. VI, 25 lower, here catalogued as 452 should perhaps be placed here instead.

602 Entrance *a* leading into Room YY lined with winged bulls.

603 Entrance *b* into Room LXI (VV).

602–603

At right angles to them [the reliefs, 601] to the west, a pair of winged bulls [602] open upon another wall, of which there were scarcely any remains, and midway between the two entrances was a deep doorway [603], flanked on both sides by four colossal mythic figures, amongst which were the fish god and the deity with the lion's head and eagle's feet.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 460)

Layard, *LN 2E*, f. 34v; Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 31, nos 22 and 21.

[387] Entrance *c* from Room XXXIII (BB).

[343] Entrance from Room XXVIII (FF).

[337] Entrance from Room XXVII (LLL).

Notes

- 1 The slabs depicted in Or. Dr. VI, 9, 13 and 20 could also have come from this façade, but have here been placed under Room XXXVIII (V) (see the introduction to that room and 454–456).
- 2 It seems clear that Layard has conflated *alme*, 'I besieged', into the city name (Bit-Kubitalmi), so, though Paterson does not include an initial 'Sennacherib, king of Assyria', there seems little doubt that the same inscription is being referred to. On Bit-Kubatti see Unger, 1938, pp. 46–7; Levine, 1973a, pp. 313–15; Levine, 1973b, p. 24; Wäfler, 1975, p. 282, nn. 1457, 1460. It was besieged and captured by Sennacherib during his second campaign in 702 BC (see Luckenbill, 1927, II, p. 141, nos 304–5 = 1932, pp. 67–8, lines 9–12). [TCM]

ROOM LXI (VV) (PLATE 19)

This ascending passage was probably a stair or ramp (Turner, Chapter 3, fig. 8). The walls are shown partly lined by slabs in Layard's plan (PLATE 10), but no reliefs are mentioned. Entrance *b* (603) led from Room LX (WW).

Layard, *LN 2E*, f. 34v; Layard, 1853a, pp. 460–2; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, p. 74, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 83.

ROOM LXII (BBB)

This room, situated on the northwest side of Gallery XLIX (O), was excavated only at its southwest end, which is shown as partly lined with slabs on Layard's plan (PLATE 10), though these are unnumbered. In Russell's transcription of Add. MS. 39077 the slabs are said to be of limestone and about 3½ feet high (about 1.3 m).

Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 66; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 74, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 83.

604 Entrance leading into Room LXIII (CCC).

ROOM LXIII (CCC)

This small room, only partly excavated, is shown on Layard's plan (PLATE 10) as lined with slabs on its southwest side; these were similar to those in Room LXII. There is an entrance (604) from Room LXII (BBB).

Paterson, 1915, p. 13; Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 66; Wäfler, 1975, p. 370; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 74, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 83.

COURT LXIV (EEE) (PLATES 450–455)

This third, almost square court is smaller than Court VI (I) and much smaller than Court XIX (U); it forms part of the

northwestern wing of the palace (PLATE 14). It probably had three doorways on each side, the middle being the main entrance. Only the entrances on the southwest side are described by Layard; they led into Room LXV (DDD). Nine other entrances are hypothetical and Layard did not number them on his plan. The surviving reliefs are numbered clockwise along the southwest side on Layard's manuscript plan (PLATE 6) but on the published plan (PLATE 14) the reliefs were renumbered counter-clockwise. There are brief descriptions in Layard's notebook and transcript and the former makes it clear that the numbers on the drawings follow the original (clockwise) numbering of the Court; this is the order adopted here.

On the northern side of the same edifice, and on the river-face of the platform, one wall of a third great hall had been uncovered; the other walls had not been excavated at the time of my departure from Mosul. From the very ruinous state of this part of the building, and from the small accumulation of earth above the level of the foundations, it is doubtful whether any sculptures still exist in it. The standing wall had three entrances, the centre formed by winged lions [610], and the others by fish gods [605, 615]. Of the bas-reliefs only fragments now remained. In one set was depicted the conquest of another tribe dwelling in the marshes of southern Mesopotamia [611–613]. The Assyrians pursued their enemies, in wicker boats, such as I have described in my account of the Afajj Arabs; and on the islands formed by the small streams flowing through the morass, were Assyrian warriors on horseback. It will be seen by the accompanying woodcut how closely the country resembled that now inhabited by the Afajj tribes. The captive women wore long robes fringed and embroidered. The palm-tree flourished on the dry land outside the swamps.

On the same side of the hall was represented the conquest of a second nation, whose men were clothed in long garments, and whose women wore turbans, with veils falling to their feet [606–608]. The Assyrians had plundered their temples, and were seen carrying away their idols. 'Of a truth, Lord, the kings of Assyria have laid waste all the nations and their countries, and have cast their gods into the fire; for they were no gods, but the work of men's hands, wood and stone; therefore they have destroyed them.' Unfortunately the bas-reliefs were so much injured that the nature of these images could not be satisfactorily ascertained. The figures appeared to be beardless, with the exception of one, which is that of a man raising his right arm, and bearing a mace. (Layard, 1853a, pp. 585–6)

Layard, *LN 2E*, ff. 31r–30v; Layard, 1853a, p. 584–6; Paterson, 1915, p. 13; Wäfler, 1975, pp. 370–1; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 74–5, 342.

605 Entrance *b* leading into Room LXV (DDD); lined with fish-cloaked figures and reliefs (*LN 2E*, f. 31r).

606–608 Slabs 1 + 2 + 3: In the recess to the right of Entrance *b* (605). Two registers are represented; in the upper, a file of soldiers carrying spoil is marching towards the right; in the lower, a file of deportees is shown advancing in the same direction. The upper register of slab 1 (left) shows a pair of soldiers with their round convex shields fastened to their backs¹ following five soldiers, each of whom holds a statue which he is carrying off as spoil.² Below, an auxiliary soldier, wearing a stamp seal around his wrist, is punishing a captive, and another

male and a female deportee are in front of him. On slab 2, three soldiers, each carrying a statue, continue the file in the upper register. The lower register shows two female deportees, the second of whom is carrying a child on her shoulders, behind an auxiliary spearman. On slab 3 (right) the file of soldiers carrying statues is continued in the upper register; two of them seem to carry a large statue or possibly a box(?) on a tray.³ Below, a row of captives is facing two scribes.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 30; Ball, 1899, p. 180; Paterson, 1915, pl. 91.

606a–608a Edge of doorway slab + slabs (corner) 1 + 2a (corner) + 2b (edge of 2) + 3: Or. Dr. IV, 32; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with much white, signed *T. S. Bell*, dated 'March 15th'; 34.2 × 63.7 cm; (slab 1: 18.1 cm; slab 2: 12 cm; slab 3: 23 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 1, 2 & 3 Ch. EEE Kouyunjik'.

Russell, 1991, p. 170, fig. 89.

PLATES 45 1, 45 3

607b Fragment of the original of slab 2 in Venice, Museo Archeologico Civico, Deposito Correr 47; 35 × 21 cm.

Assyrian soldier carrying the statue of a goddess(?) towards the right; the statue, about half life-size, is holding in its hands a mirror(?) and ears of wheat or flowers(?); the fragment can be identified with the last soldier in the upper register of slab 2.

Falkner, 1952–3, pp. 26–8, figs 2–3.

PLATE 45 2

607c Fragment of the original of slab 2 in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Newbury Loan 2; 25 × 15.2 cm.

Head and upper part of an auxiliary soldier with crested helmet, facing right, holding his lance; he can be identified with the soldier in the lower register of slab 2.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 141–2, Abb. 104.

PLATE 45 1

609 Slab 4: Apparently drawn but the drawing has not been identified. Presumably a continuation of the scene on slabs 1–3.

610 Entrance *a* leading into Room LXV (DDD); lined with winged human-headed lions.

LN 2E, ff. 31r–30v; Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986, p. 31, no. 23.

611–613 Slabs 5 [+6] + 7: Battle in the marshes of southern Babylonia. On slab 5 soldiers are discharging arrows from reed-boats; the Assyrians have longer boats which are punted from the stern; at the top of the fragment natives are deported towards the right by Assyrian soldiers. Around the battle scene are reedbeds divided from each other by channels; Assyrian horsemen hide in the reedbeds on the right. The scene continued on slab 6 which was apparently drawn but the drawing has not been identified. Only the lower part of slab 7 remained, showing reed beds and a row of Babylonian male and female deportees advancing towards the right.

Layard, 1853a, p. 585 (woodcut of slab 7); Layard, 1853b, pl. 27; Paterson, 1915, pl. 92 lower ('slabs 5 + [6] + 7'); De Graeve, 1981, p. 49, pl. XX, no. 52.

611a + 613a Or. Dr. IV, 33; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by T. S. Bell, on brownish paper, enhanced with much white; 38.4 × 63 cm (slab 5: 29 cm; slab 7: 27.2 cm); scale given: $3in = 1ft$ (1:4).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 5 & 7 Ch. EEE Kouyunjik'.

Russell, 1991, p. 169, fig. 88.

PLATES 454, 455

The following fragment may belong to this series of slabs or to that on the exterior wall of the palace (see **594**; Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 61):

614 Rome, Museo Barracco 56: 15.8 × 11 cm.

Upper part of a woman, probably a Babylonian, facing right.

Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980, p. 143.

PLATE 455

615 Entrance *b* leading into Room LXV (DDD); lined with fish-cloaked figures facing east.

LN2E f. 31r.

Notes

- 1 Shields carried by soldiers on their backs can frequently be observed on slabs of the time of Ashurbanipal (Hrouda, 1965, pp. 90–1, 149), but not on the reliefs of Sennacherib.
- 2 On such statuettes see Börker-Klähn, 1973, pp. 43–4; Spieckermann, 1982, pp. 348–9, n. 92, gives a full list of references concerning the deportation of gods.
- 3 If this were a large, more than life-size statue, it would project into the upper register, which does not seem to be the case.

ROOM LXV (DDD)

This was the main room in a suite opening off Court LXIV (EEE) (PLATE 14). The reliefs were poorly preserved and were not numbered.

The three entrances led into one chamber 86 feet by 24. On its calcined walls were only the faint traces of bas-reliefs. I could distinguish a line of chariots in a ravine between mountains, warriors throwing logs on a great burning pile of wood, castles on the tops of hills, Assyrians carrying away spoil, amongst which was a royal umbrella, and the king on his throne receiving his army on their return from battle with the captives and booty. (Layard, 1853a, p. 586)

The only drawing matching Layard's descriptions of wood being burnt (**508**) has already been assigned to Room XLVII (JJ) because the other slabs in that sequence fit the description of Room XLVII (JJ) better than Room LXV (DDD). The only drawing which shows a parasol carried away as spoil (**453**) has been attributed to Room XXXVIII (V) because it has a broad river similar to that represented on other slabs in that room, and conforming to the description in Layard, 1853a, p. 440.

Layard, LN2E, f. 31r; Layard, 1853a, pp. 584–6; Paterson, 1915, p. 13; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 75, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 84.

[610] Entrance *a* from Court LXIV (EEE).

616 Led horses, wood burning and soldiers bringing wood, a city in a river and trees (see **508**).

[615] Entrance *b* from Court LXIV (EEE).

617 North corner: figures bearing spoil to the king on his throne.

618 Entrance *c* leading into Room LXVI (JJJ); lined with pairs of figures facing southeast, the first a winged genie with bucket, the second lion-legged.

619 Figures bearing spoil including umbrella; castle in mountains with trees (see **453**).

620 Entrance *d* leading into Room LXVII (FFF).

621 Entrance *e* into Room LXVII (FFF); this is the second entrance described by Layard in LN2E, f. 31r as having 'two figures facing east, the second lion-legged' (see also Russell, 1995, p. 84).

622 Entrance *f* leading into Room LXVII (FFF).

623 South side: Line of chariots in water between wooded hills.

624 Entrance *g* leading into Room KKK [LXVIII], lined with pairs of figures facing northwest, a winged genie with a bucket followed by a lion-legged figure.

[605] Entrance *b* from Court LXIV (EEE).

ROOM LXVI (JJJ)

This small room at the northwest side of Room LXV (DDD) was only partly excavated and is shown in Layard's plan (PLATE 14) as lined with slabs.

The walls of a small room opening into the northern end of this chamber had almost entirely disappeared. The fragments found in the rubbish showed that they had also been covered with sculpture.

(Layard, 1853a, p. 586)

Layard, LN2E, f. 30v; Paterson, 1915, p. 13; Wäfler, 1975, p. 371; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 75, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 84.

[618] Entrance *c* leading from Room LXV (DDD).

625 Damaged slabs with led horses and vineyards (LN2E, f. 30v). Not drawn.

ROOM LXVII (FFF) (PLATES 456–459)

This room is smaller than Room LXV (DDD) and flanks it on the southwest side. There are three entrances leading from Room LXV (DDD), and a fourth doorway on the northeast

connects it with Room KKK [LXVIII]. The walls of this room are shown in Layard's plan (PLATE 14) as lined with slabs, but only six of them, all on the southwest side, were numbered. The description in Layard's notebook does not correspond to that in *Nineveh and Babylon* nor to the drawings attributed to this room.

Opposite to and corresponding with the three entrances from the hall were three other doorways leading into a parallel chamber of somewhat smaller dimensions. Parts of four slabs were the only sculptures sufficiently well preserved to be drawn: they represented the siege of a great city, whose many-towered walls were defended by slingers, archers, and spearmen. The king himself in his chariot was present at the attack. Around him were his warriors and his led-horses.
(Layard, 1853a, p. 586)

Layard, *LN 2E*, f. 30v; Paterson, 1915, p. 13; Gadd, 1936, p. 251; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 75, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 84.

626–628 Slabs 1, 2 + 3: Only a small part of the middle of slab 1 seems to have survived, showing a city-wall fortified with many turrets and battlements. The walls and the towers have square windows. This impressive city is occupied by kneeling spearmen using circular shields and the legs of much larger kneeling figures appear above. Slab 2 represents Assyrians attacking towards the left; kneeling and standing auxiliary archers are discharging arrows; behind them Assyrian archers with body-shields and slingers are in action. Slab 3 shows the king in his chariot, but only the lower part of the upper register remained; below, led horses and a soldier bending down to pick up a slingstone. Note that the relationship between slab 1, where the city seems to be occupied by Assyrian auxiliaries and does not conform to Layard's description quoted above, and slabs 2 and 3, where Assyrians are attacking, is not clear. Slab 1, however, corresponds well with a slab described in connection with Room LXX (GGG) in Layard's transcript (Russell, 1995, p. 84) and there may have been some confusion in the labelling of the drawing.

626a–628a Or.Dr. IV, 38; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with much white and a little black, probably by F. C. Cooper or T. S. Bell; 35.2 × 63.6 cm; (slab 1, drawn separately at the bottom: 27.3 cm; slabs 2 + 3: 61.3 cm), scale for slabs 2 + 3 given: $2in = 1ft$ (1:6).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 1, 2 & 3. Ch. FFF Kouyunjik'.

Russell, 1991, p. 74, fig. 41.

PLATES 456, 457, 458

628b Fragment of the original slab 3 in Rome, Museo Barracco 58 (ex 8); 69.2 × 56.8 cm.

Part of battle scene: arms of two Assyrian slingers on the left edge; an Assyrian soldier bending downward to grasp another stone; horse led towards the left by an Assyrian archer carrying a spear in his left hand and with a quiver, bow and arrows on his back.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 48–9, fig. 43; Gadd, 1936, p. 251; Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980, p. 153.

PLATE 459

629 Slab 4: Not drawn; probably showed the rows of captives advancing to right mentioned in Layard's notebook (*LN 2E*, f. 30v).

630 Slabs 6 + 5: Not drawn; numbered from right to left on the same wall as 1–4 in Layard's plan (PLATE 14); no details known, but they may have shown the 'interior' (camp?), mountains, trees and soldiers referred to by Layard (*LN 2E*, f. 30v).

[620–622] Entrances *d*, *e* and *f* from Room LXV (DDD).

631 Slabs between these entrances depicting led horses and prisoners (*LN 2E*, f. 30v).

632 Entrance *i* leading into Room KKK [LXVIII]; lined with slabs depicting mountains and trees and lion-legged figures facing northwest (*LN 2E*, f. 31r).

ROOM KKK [LXVIII]

Although this large but only partly excavated room is not on Layard's plan (PLATE 14) or on Paterson's (PLATE 15), it is called KKK on Layard's manuscript plan (PLATE 6); it is assumed to be Room LXVIII which has been omitted from the sequence of numbers. At the excavated northwest end it is shown as lined with slabs, two of them (2 + 3) numbered in Layard's plan. This room is not described in any of Layard's published books, and none of the known drawings can be attributed to it; the only information on it comes from Layard's notebook and his transcript of it.

Layard, *LN 2E*, f. 31v-r; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 75, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 84.

633 Slabs 2 + 3: Siege of a city on a hill; cavalry bringing prisoners by the hair.

634 Slab (1? in recess by entrance) with soldiers, mountains and trees.

[632] Entrance *i* from Room LXVII (FFF).

635 Slabs with led horses.

[624] Entrance *g* from Room LXV (DDD).

636 Entrance in the northeastern wall leading into an unexcavated area.

ROOM LXIX (III) (PLATES 460–461)

This small, square room in the southwest of the palace has two doorways opposite each other.

The third chamber, ([Footnote:] No. LXIX Plan I. About 23 feet by 19) entered from that last described through a doorway guarded by colossal eagle-footed figures, contained the sculptured records of the conquest of part of Babylonia, or of some other district to the south of it. Long lines of chariots, horsemen, and warriors, divided into companies according to their arms and their costume, accompanied the king. The Assyrians having taken the principal city of the invaded country, cut down the

palm-trees within and without its walls. Men beating drums, such as are still seen in the same country, and women clapping their hands in cadence to their song, came out to greet the conquerors. Beneath the walls was represented a great caldron, which appears to have been supported upon metal images of oxen; perhaps a vessel resembling the brazen sea of the temple of Solomon.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 588–9)

Further reference appears in Layard's notebook. Only two slabs on the northeast wall were numbered and drawn. They probably represented scenes from Sennacherib's first Babylonian campaign.

Layard, *LN 2E*, ff. 30r–29v; Paterson, 1915, p. 13; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 75, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 84.

637 Slabs 1 + 2: Assyrian soldiers cutting down large palm-trees heavy with fruit, on the bank of a small river with fish, at the bottom; the right part of slab 2 shows a small triple-walled city with small palms growing inside. Outside the city on the bank of the river some kind of celebration is represented, with two men playing drums, and two women clapping their hands, all facing left; behind them there is a cauldron-like object on a base in the form of an animal, possibly an offering table.

Layard, 1853a, p. 588 (woodcut of part of slab 2); Paterson, 1915, pl. 95 middle.

637a Or.Dr. IV, 56; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 29.2 × 57.8 cm; (49.8 cm); scale given: 2 in = 1 ft (1:6).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 1. 2. Ch. III Kouyunjik'.

Russell, 1991, p. 76, fig. 42.

PLATES 460, 461

638 Entrance *c* into an unexcavated area, lined with two pairs of figures facing southwest, the second eagle-legged.

639 Slabs along the southeast wall depicting soldiers with circular shields, archers, soldiers with pointed helmets, a chariot followed by led horses among palm-trees.

640 Slabs along the northwest wall with chariot, soldiers, prisoners and palm-trees.

641 Entrance *b* leading into Room LXX (GGG); lined with colossal eagle-footed figures facing 'west', and a continuation of the scene depicted on slabs 5–9 in Room LXX (647).

Green, 1986a, pp. 199–200 suggests **684** may have come from here.

ROOM LXX (GGG) (PLATES 462–472)

This room is almost as small as Room LXIX (III) and is also square. It has two doorways. All the slabs are numbered on Layard's plan (PLATE 14). The descriptions of this room in Layard's notebooks and transcript match neither the description in *Nineveh and Babylon*, nor the drawings attributed to it, satisfactorily; marshes and prisoners are not mentioned. The city described in the transcript corresponds well with **626a** and it may be that there

has been some confusion in the labelling of that drawing or the numbering of the rooms.

Amongst the bas-reliefs was another battle in a marsh. The Assyrian warriors were seen fighting in boats, and bringing their captives to the shore, one of the vessels being towed by a man swimming on an inflated skin. Sennacherib himself, in his chariot, in the midst of a grove of palm-trees, received the prisoners, and the heads of the slain. Above him was the following short epigraph, commencing with his name and title, which I have omitted [in the copy], as they were written in the usual form.

This inscription appears to read, 'Sennacherib, king of the country of Assyria, the spoil of the river Agammi, from the city of Sakrina' (the last line not interpreted). Although the name of this city has not yet been found, as far as I know, in the records on the bulls and on other monuments of the same king, yet the mention of the river enables us to recognise in the bas-reliefs a representation of part of the campaign, undertaken by Sennacherib, in the fourth year of his reign, against Susubira the Chaldaean: whose capital was Bittul, on the same stream. Although the river itself has not as yet been [sic] identified, it is evidently either a part of the Tigris or Euphrates, or one of their confluents, near the Persian Gulf. We have no difficulty, indeed, in determining the site of the country whose conquest is depicted. The marshes and palm trees show that it must have been in southern Mesopotamia, or in the districts watered by the Shat el Arab.

A great retinue of charioteers and horsemen appear to have followed Sennacherib to this war. Large circular shields were fixed to the sides of the chariots represented in the sculptures.

(Layard, 1853a, pp. 586–8)

Layard, *LN 2E*, f. 30r; Paterson, 1915, p. 13; Gadd, 1936, p. 251; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 75, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 84.

642 Entrance *a* leading into Room LXXI (HHH); recessed on either side, formed by colossal winged figures.

643 Slab 1: Only the lower part of the slab remained, showing reed boats, some navigating towards the left, with Assyrian archers discharging arrows towards the left, and others navigating towards the right with captives, one of them being towed by a man swimming towards the right on an inflated skin. Headless bodies, fish, and an eel are seen in the water which is surrounded by reed beds. On the right, a file of deportees is driven towards the right by an Assyrian soldier.

Layard, 1853b, pl. 28; Paterson, 1915, pl. 93 upper; Nagel, 1967, pl. 19:1; De Graeve, 1981, pp. 48–9, pl. XX, no. 51.

643a Or.Dr. IV, 42; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 32.2 × 54.6 cm (45.3 cm); scale given: 3 in = 1 ft (1:4).

Annotation in pencil: 'No. 1 Chamber GGG – Kouyunjik'.

Porada, 1989, p. 235, pl. 39; Russell, 1991, p. 155, fig. 79.

PLATE 463

644 Slab 2: Not drawn; the file of deportees from Babylonia probably continued (see **653** below).

645–646 Slab 3 + 4: Of the upper register there remained only the legs of soldiers leading horses, advancing towards the right on the bank of a small river with fish. The lower register shows deportees, a woman

and a child on the back of an equid, and Assyrian soldiers piling the heads of the slain in a heap in front of two spearmen with large round shields, behind whom stand two archers, followed by the king in his chariot facing left below an inscription: a row of palm-trees indicates the country, and a river at the bottom is full of fish.

Inscription:

- 1 Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria.
- 2 booty from the marshes
- 3 of Sahrin[a]
- 4 passed before me.

Layard, 1853a, p. 586; Weidner, 1939, p. 87, fig. 73; Nagel, 1967, pl. 19:2; Magen, 1986, p. 160.

645a–646a Or.Dr. I, 49; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 43.8 × 66 cm (47.7 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Nos. 3 & 4 Ch. GGG – Kouyunjik'.

Gadd, 1936, p. 242, pl. 19; Russell, 1991, pp. 126–7, fig. 67.

PLATES 464, 466

645b Fragment of the original of slab 3 in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1933.1575; presented by Sir Michael Sadler through the National Art Collections Fund in 1933; 72 × 111.8 × 7 cm.

Left part of the slab, showing Babylonian male and female prisoners being deported towards the right, along a row of large palm-trees, a woman and a child riding an equid (mule?) and two Assyrian soldiers carrying heads of the slain.

Leeds, 1933, pl. I opp. p. 7; Weidner, 1939, pp. 86–8, fig. 72; Reade, 1980, pl. 6b.

PLATE 465

647 Slabs 5 + 6 + 7 + 8 + 9: The entire wall at the northeast side of this room; not drawn.

[641] Entrance *b* from Room LXIX (III).

648–650 Slabs 10 + 11 + 12: Only parts of the lower register remained, showing four chariots with eight-spoked wheels and round shields on the side, with only a driver in each; beside the wheel of each chariot a soldier is marching towards the left. Slab 12 represents three Assyrian soldiers on horseback. There is a row of palm-trees on all three slabs.

Layard, 1853a, p. 587 (woodcut of detail of slab 10).

648a–650a Or.Dr. I, 50; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard or F. C. Cooper, on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 44.3 × 66.6 cm (10, 11: 62.2 cm; 12: 23.4 cm); scale given: 2 in = 1 ft (1:6).

Annotations in pencil: 'Nos. 10, 11 & 12 Ch.' GGG – Kouyunjik'; below slab 10: 'make a completer chariot'.

PLATES 467, 468

Originals unknown apart from the following fragments from slab 12:

650b Boston, MFA 33.683 (ex 4); Anna Mitchell Richards Fund, previously in the A. Broomhall Willson Collection sold at Sotheby's in 1932; 29 × 29 cm.

Upper part of the middle Assyrian cavalryman.

Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London, 21 March 1932, lot 53; Gadd, 1936, p. 242, no. 4; Terrace, 1962, no. 25; Reade, 1972, p. 110, pl. XXXVIa. PLATE 468

650c Sotheby's 1970; present location unknown; 54.6 × 55.3 cm.

The last Assyrian cavalryman, facing left, holding a lance, with a bowcase and bow on his back; upper parts of two palm-trees behind.

Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London, 13 July 1970, lot 20.

PLATE 469

The following drawings can perhaps be attributed to this room:

651 Slab (?): Or.Dr. VI, 25 upper; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on same sheet of greyish paper as 452, enhanced with white and brown wash; 66.6 × 43.5 cm (37.5 cm).

Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'.

In the upper register the lower parts of led horses and soldiers survive; the lower register represents led horses (with only the tail of one horse preserved on the left edge) followed by a chariot and driver; all of them face left. The date-palms are much smaller than those in this and all other rooms of this palace, thereby making the attribution uncertain.

PLATE 470

652 Slab (?): Or.Dr. VI, 6 upper; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on the same sheet of light grey paper as 199, enhanced with white and brown; 44.4 × 54.9 cm (44.1 cm); scale given below 199 (may not apply to 652): *inch 2-1/2 to the foot. Not connected* (1:4.8). Annotation in pencil: 'Old Palace – Kouyunjik'.

A city attacked by Assyrian soldiers; ramps are built against the wall and a siege engine is used. The city seems to stand on a foundation of bricks, and palm fronds are used on the ramp, probably in the upper layer, to prevent the siege machine from slipping. This appears to be a Babylonian or an Elamite city. On the left, deportees are led towards the left. Perhaps this is the burning city referred to in *LN* 2E, f. 30r, or the city under siege.

PLATE 471

The following fragments probably belong to this room:

653 Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum, BLMJ 1112; ex Canford School; 60 × 83 cm.

A woman and a child are riding an equid (mule?) towards the right led by a boy; the foot of a man on the left, the trunk of a large palm-tree behind, a river below. Perhaps part of slab 2 (644; see Russell, 1991, p. 288).

Illustrated London News, 7 November 1959, p. 601 (middle left); Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London, 16 November 1959, lot 59; Weidner, 1959–60, p. 191, fig. 4; Smith, 1960, p. 57, n. 15; Reade, 1981a, p. 128, no. 85; Westenholz, 1996, p. 167, fig. 7 (from Room LI?).

PLATE 472

654 Baghdad, IM (?); 39 × 32 cm.

Irregularly shaped fragment with calcined surface: upper part of a deportee urging his equid on with a stick, date-palm behind.

PLATE 472

ROOM LXXI (HHH)

This was probably a small room, projecting onto the southwest terrace at its northwestern end. It was only partly excavated, but although all its walls are shown as lined with slabs on Layard's plan (PLATE 14), they were almost entirely destroyed, and no details are given in Layard's notebook.

Three more chambers were discovered in this part of the building. They were on the very edge of the river-face of the mound. The walls of the outer room [Room LXXI (HHH)], had been almost entirely destroyed. An entrance [641], formed by colossal winged figures, led from it into a second chamber, about 24 feet square, in which the sculptures were still partly preserved [Room LXX (GGG)].
(Layard, 1853a, p. 586)

Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 30r; Reade, 1979a, p. 90; Russell, 1991, pp. 75–6, 342; Russell, 1995, p. 84.

ROOM NNN

This room at the east corner of the palace (PLATE 7) was not numbered on Layard's published plan (PLATE 11). The walls flanking Entrance *f* (335) into Room XXVI (MMM) are shown as lined by slabs. No details are known and it is described as 'destroyed' in Layard's notebook and its transcript.

Layard, *LN* 2E, f. 32v; Russell, 1995, p. 84.

ROOM YY

This room lay to the southwest of Room LX in the extreme southwest corner of the palace. Like Rooms KKK and NNN it appears on Layard's unnumbered plan (PLATE 7) but remained unnumbered on Layard's plan (PLATE 10). It was only partly excavated. Its Entrance *a* (602) leads into Room LX (WW) and was formed by colossal bulls. The walls are shown as partly lined with slabs, but the only information about this room comes from Layard's notebook and its transcript.

Layard, *LN* 2E, 34r; Russell, 1995, p. 83.

[602] Entrance *a* from Room LX (WW).

655 Finely cut slabs. Two rows of led horses and chariots are mentioned, as well as the king's chariot in a palm grove.

PASSAGE LEADING TOWARDS THE ISHTAR TEMPLE (PLATES 473–496)

The two sets of slabs which lined both sides of a descending passage or ramp show finely executed large-scale one-register figures moving in a procession. They were found out of position by Rassam in 1853, about 65 m to the north of Forecourt H, probably where a pit is indicated on the plans on PLATES 3–5.

After a little while our excavations at Koyunjik began to show some signs of interest at the southern end of the mound, about two hundred feet to the northeast of Sennacherib's palace. We first came upon fragments of sculptures, inscribed and painted bricks, ancient pottery, and other Assyrian remains, which were mixed up in utter confusion with debris; but the deeper we went down, the more perfect were the bas-reliefs, though a few only were in perfect condition, and resembled the sculptures found at Nimroud. Amongst these, I found eight bas-reliefs, elegant both in style and finish, – two representing the king sitting in a hand chariot drawn by two officers and two eunuchs, and the head of the shaft being ornamented with a figure-head of a horse; three containing warriors with uncovered heads, carrying maces and vessels; the other three slabs had four figures on them, male and female musicians, with eunuchs wearing fish-tail long caps, the whole group bearing Assyrian instruments of music, such as drums, tambourines, dulcimers, and cymbals. The representation of the ministers, who seem to be walking before the king, is remarkable for the splendid style of their dress; and one in particular, who seems to be the chief, is gorgeously dressed, and the ornamentation of his drapery is splendidly delineated.

After having excavated for about a week, I came to the conclusion that all the relics we were finding did not properly belong to the place, but that they must have been thrown down there pell-mell from different ancient buildings. The ditch had to be enlarged as we proceeded downwards, until it grew to nearly three hundred feet in circumference; and we continued to discover ancient relics to the depth of forty feet from the surface.

It has been supposed by some that this was a site of a palace or temple; but although a part of the debris had certainly some signs of masonry, I could, nevertheless, find no trace of a wall or foundation in the large area I excavated. The late Mr George Smith asserts that, according to the Assyrian inscriptions, there were at least four temples in the space between the palaces of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal, two temples dedicated to Ishtar, the goddess of Nineveh, a temple to Nebo and Merodach, and a Ziggurat, or temple tower.
(Rassam, 1897, p. 8)

The slabs show the king himself, the crown-prince, courtiers, attendants, priests, musicians, and foot soldiers, probably the king's bodyguard. Some of the figures overlap from one slab to another. All the figures move from right to left but some move uphill, some downhill, some appear to be on the flat and for some the evidence is lacking. The slabs may therefore be parts of two processions, one on each side of a relatively short section of the passage (around 11 or 12 m), showing the king going to and from the Ishtar Temple. This would account for the presence of two representations of the crown prince (659 and 675). It has been suggested that this procession may perhaps be connected with the impressive ceremony, in the presence of the army, nobility, and officials, when the crown prince was led to the *bīt redūti* and took his place on his father's throne.¹

Possible sequences of the remaining slabs, fragments or drawings have been proposed by Gadd and Reade. Here Gadd's sequence is followed since it accords with Rassam's statement, quoted above, that the ministers walked before the king. However, the soldiers, or some of them, and the musicians, may also have preceded the king.

Paterson, 1915, p. 14; Gadd, 1936, pp. 172–3, 176–7, 215–17, 251; Wäfler, 1975, p. 371; Reade, 1967, p. 48, nn. 23–4.

Procession moving uphill, towards the left described from left to right:

- 1 Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art: a high official (656).
- 2 London, BM WA 124900: two officials and part of a third (657).
- 3 Berlin, VA 956 (= Or. Dr. VI, 36), joins no. 2: three officials holding maces (658).
- 4 Berlin, VA 955 (= Or. Dr. VI, 43): the crown-prince and high officials (659).
- 5 Or.Dr. VI, 44, joins no. 4: the king in his rickshaw pulled by two attendants (660).
- 6 Mosul Museum store or NGM 2, two fragments; London, BM WA 135200 probably joins: four robed spearmen with shields (661).
- 7 Mosul, NGM 1 + London, BM WA 124950 (= Or. Dr. VI, 33 left): two spearmen with crested helmets and round shields (662).
- 8 Berlin, VA 958: two spearmen with crested helmets and round shields (663).
- 9 Mosul, NGM 5 + London, BM WA 124949 (= Or. Dr. VI, 33 right): three Judaeen(?) archers (664).
- 10 London, BM WA 124951: two Judaeen(?) archers (665).

Procession moving downhill, towards the left, described from left to right:

- A Berlin, VA 957: two archers with headbands (667).
- B London, BM WA 124901: an archer with a headband and a spearman with a convex shield (668).
- C Mosul, NGM 4: four spearmen with convex shields (669).
- D-F Berlin, VA 953 (= Or. Dr. VI, 34 + 35 + 39): three slabs showing six spearmen, traces of a seventh on the left edge, followed by five musicians (670–672).
- G Or.Dr. VI, 45: three female musicians, part of a harp on the right edge (673).
- H London, BM WA 124948 (= Or. Dr. VI, 38): two pairs of harpists (674).

This order of slabs is hypothetical and far from complete, but to avoid confusion, the following catalogue offers the Original Drawings as well as the original remains under the above numbers and letters.

Moving uphill:

656 Slab 1: Original in Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art; 101 × 45 cm.

Upper part of a high official, carrying a mace, wearing the same dress as the two officials behind the crown-prince on 659.

Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London, 12 July 1976, lot 358.

PLATE 474

657 Slab 2: Original in London, BM WA 124900 (56-9-9, 7); 141 × 92.7 cm; gypsum.

Two Assyrian officers holding maces, traces of a third on the left edge, continued on the missing right part of slab 1 or of an intervening slab.

Gadd, 1936, pl. 21 left.

PLATE 474

658 Slab 3: The slab represented three officials, one in front and two behind, all carrying maces; they are bare-headed and bare-footed; the sword and robe of the right-hand figure of slab 2 are continued on the left side of this slab.

658a Or.Dr. VI, 36; pencil drawing on greyish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, signed with C. D. Hodder's initials; 48.9 × 37.8 cm (20 cm); scale given: 2 inches to the foot.

Annotation in ink: '(5)'; annotations in pencil: 'Centre Palace Kouyunjik (Sennacherib)'; 'WB' or 'MB' (see 369b).

SAA IV, fig. 51.

PLATE 476

658b Original in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, VA 956; 154 × 118 cm. Gadd, 1936, pl. 21 right; Meissner, 1920b, p. 22; Meyer, 1965, pp. 29, 42, pl. 149.

PLATE 475

659 Slab 4: Probably the crown-prince (see also 675), followed by two high officials and two servants supporting the shaft of the wheeled throne on slab 5.

659a Or.Dr. VI, 43; pencil drawing on greenish brown paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, signed with C. D. Hodder's initials; 47.9 × 38.1 cm.

Annotations in pencil: 'Centre Palace – Kouyunjik (Sennacherib)'; 'WB' or 'MB' (see 369b note); '(coming)' crossed out.

Gadd, 1936, pl. 23 left; Porada, 1945, p. 153.

PLATE 477

659b Alternative drawing of the left part of slab 4: Or.Dr. VI, 46; pencil drawing on whitish paper, signed with C. D. Hodder's initials; 48.5 × 32.2 cm (25.4 cm); scale given: 3 inches to the foot (1:4).

Annotations in pencil: 'Centre Palace – Kouyunjik (Sennacherib)'; 'WB' or 'MB' (see 369b note).

SAA II, fig. 6 (detail).

PLATE 477

659c Original in Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, VA 955; 174 × 142 cm. Meissner, 1920b, pp. 21–2; Meyer, 1965, pp. 29, 42, pls 150, 151.

PLATE 478

660 Slab 5: This slab was broken into several fragments. It represented the main scene in this passage, King Sennacherib in his rickshaw, being drawn by two servants (mostly on slab 4); behind him there are two more servants, one of them holding the sunshade, and the other the fly-whisk.

660a Or.Dr. VI, 44; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, signed with C. D. Hodder's initials; 48 × 37.4 cm (27.3 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'Centre Palace – Kouyunjik (Sennacherib)'; 'Sennacherib in Chariot – slab apparently a continuation of preceding one (No 43); behind, two attendant Eunuchs with Umbrella, &c.'; 'Kouyunjik'.

Gadd, 1936, pl. 23 right; Porada, 1945, p. 153; Magen, 1986, p. 160; SAA III, fig. 26; SAA IV, fig. 23.

PLATE 479

661a-b Original fragments of slab 6 in Mosul Museum store or Nergal Gate Museum (no. 2); dimensions not available.

Two fragments made up with plaster, with London BM WA 135200 (**661c**) probably belonging in the gap.² A procession of bareheaded, robed Assyrians, the first with a spear and convex shield followed by a pair with bows on their backs and by two single figures holding maces. Traces of a further figure on the left, probably the continuation of the parasol-bearer on Slab 5 (**660**).

From a photograph taken by J. J. Orchard.

PLATE 480

661c Fragment of the original of slab 6 in London, BM WA 135200 (1970-1-21, 4); ex Royal Geographical Society 8; from Sir Henry Rawlinson's collection; 76.2 × 48.3.

Upper part of a soldier holding a large round shield. Probably joins **661b**.

Mitchell, 1971-2, p. 135, pl. LVa; Weidner, 1939, p. 82, fig. 70.

PLATE 480

662 Slab 7: Procession of spearmen with crested helmets and round wickerwork shields.

662a + 664a Or.Dr. VI, 33; unsigned pencil drawing of slab 7 and part of slab 9 on greyish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, probably by C. D. Hodder; 34.5 × 51.1 cm (left: 17.2 cm; right: 14.4 cm), scale given in each case: *1 inch 1/2 to the foot* (1:8) although **664** has been drawn to a larger scale (2 inches to the foot?; see PLATE 473 and **670a**).

Annotations in pencil: '*Centre Palace Kouyunjik (Sennacherib)*'; '*WB*' or '*MB*' crossed out (see **369b**); below **664**, '*A new slab discovered showing the troops(?) of King*'.

Wäfler, 1975, p. 371; SAA V, fig. 12.

PLATE 483

662b Original of left part of slab 7 in Mosul, formerly outside the Nergal Gate Museum (no. 1); present location unknown; dimensions not available.

The entirely preserved figure of an auxiliary spearman wearing a helmet with a curved crest, and carrying a round shield under his arm. Does not join the previous slab.

From a photograph taken by J. J. Orchard; see Reade, 1967, p. 48, n. 24 but clearly the figure is moving uphill.

PLATE 482

662c Fragment of slab 7 in London, BM WA 124950 (wrongly numbered on slab) (56-9-9); 127 × 87 cm.

Upper part of an auxiliary spearman facing left, similar to that on **662b**; it is possibly the end of his spear which appears on that fragment.

Reade, 1967, p. 48, n. 24; Wäfler, 1975, p. 371.

PLATE 482

663 Slab 8: Original in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, VA 958; 190 × 130 cm.

Two spearmen holding their spears in front of them, and pressing their round shields under their arms, are advancing in procession towards the left.

Meissner, 1920b, p. 20; Andrae, 1938, p. 20, pl. IIa; Meyer, 1965, pp. 29, 42, pl. 147.

PLATE 481

664 Slab 9: Three auxiliary archers and part of a fourth; two at least wear head-dresses similar to that of the Judaeen deportees from Lachish.

664a See under **662a** above.

664b Original of part of slab 9 (fragment drawn alongside **662a**) in London, BM WA 124949 (56-9-9, 4); 67 × 47.9 cm.

Probably joins **664c** (see n. 2).

PLATE 484

664c Original of lower part of slab 9 in Mosul, Nergal Gate Museum (no. 5); dimensions not available.

The legs of three archers moving towards the left, and part of a fourth on the right edge. It probably joins **664b** as suggested by Reade; it may have joined **665** on the right.

From a photograph taken by J. J. Orchard; Reade, 1967, p. 48, n. 24.

PLATE 484

665 Slab 10: Original in London, BM WA 124951 (56-9-9, 5); 125 × 119.4 cm.

Two auxiliary archers, possibly Judaeans. That on the left may be part of the same figure as that on the right of **664c**.

Hall, 1928, pl. XXXVIII:1; Barnett & Forman, n.d., p. 31, pl. 51; Reade, 1967, p. 48, n. 24.

PLATE 484

666 Not used.

Moving downhill:

667 Slab A: Original in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, VA 957; 178 × 125 cm.

Two auxiliary archers in procession. The angles at which the sides and top are cut indicate a downward slope.

Paterson, 1901-11, pl. IX; Meissner, 1920b, p. 21, Abb. 9; Unger, 1926c, pl. 158a; Meyer, 1965, pp. 29, 42, pl. 148.

PLATE 485

668 Slab B: Original in London, BM WA 124901 (56-9-9, 9); 160 × 109.2 cm.

Two auxiliary soldiers, the first with bow and quiver, the second with a spear and a round, convex shield.

Paterson, 1901-11, pl. LX; Paterson, 1915, pl. 99; Meissner, 1920b, pp. 18-19, Abb. 7; Unger, 1926c, pl. 158b; Barnett, 1958b, pl. 32b; Barnett & Forman, n.d., p. 32, pl. 53; Wäfler, 1975, pl. 3:2.

PLATE 485

669 Slab C: Original in Mosul, Nergal Gate Museum (no. 4); dimensions not available.

Four spearmen (those to the left and right are fragmentary) with large, round, convex shields; possibly Judeans (note the head-dress). Does not join with **668** or **670**.

From a photograph taken by J. J. Orchard.

PLATE 486

670 Slab D: Four spearmen carrying large, round, convex shields, and a fifth partly preserved on the left edge; the two on the right are bare-headed, while the spearmen in front of them have a head-dress similar to that of the Judean inhabitants of Lachish and their garments have narrower fringes.

670a Or.Dr. VI, 34; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, signed with C. D. Hodder's initials; 36.5 × 48.3 cm (36 cm); scale given: 2 inches to the foot (1:6); ruled scales of 2 inches and 2¼ inches to the foot at the bottom of the page.

Annotations in pencil: 'Centre Palace - Kouyunjik (Sennacherib)'; 'WB' or 'MB' (see **369b** note).

SAIV, fig. 15.

PLATE 488

670b Original in Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, VA 953a; 228 × 186 cm.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 83-4, fig. 71 (right part); Meissner, 1920b, pp. 19-20, Abb. 8; Wetzel, 1949, pl. 21; Meyer, 1966, pl. 22; Rashid, 1971, p. 96, fig. 7; Rashid, 1984, pp. 120-2, fig. 140.

PLATES 487, 489

671 Slab E: Two spearmen with large, round, convex shields, bare-footed and bare-headed, are followed by two men in long garments, carrying musical instruments;³ only a leg and arm of the second appears on the right of this slab continuing onto the following slab.

671a Or.Dr. VI, 35; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, signed C. D. Hodder; 46.8 × 35.5 cm (29.9 cm); scale given: 2 inches to the foot (1:6); a ruled scale along the side of the drawing.

Annotations in pencil: 'Centre Palace Kouyunjik (Sennacherib)'; 'Slab from the Centre locality'; 'WB' or 'MB' followed by a question mark which has been crossed out (see **369b** note).

PLATE 490

671b Original in Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, VA 953b; 178 × 186 cm.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 83-4, fig. 71 (left part); Wetzel, 1949, pl. 21 (part); Meyer, 1966, pl. 22; Rashid, 1971, p. 96, fig. 7; Rashid, 1984, pp. 120-2, fig. 140.

PLATES 487, 491

672 Slab F: Second robed musician continued from previous slab, third man carrying a musical instrument (see n. 3), followed by two female musicians, the first playing cymbals, the second carrying a large drum upon her shoulders; the latter wears a necklace with pendants.

672a Or.Dr. VI, 39; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, probably by C. D. Hodder; 37.4 × 44.8 cm (30.2 cm); scale given: about 2 ins to the foot.

Annotations in pencil: 'Centre Palace Kouyunjik (Sennacherib)'; 'WB' or 'MB' (see **369b** note).

Rashid, 1971, p. 103, fig. 13.

PLATE 492

672b Original of slab F in Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, VA 953c; 171 × 184 cm.

Meyer, 1966, pl. 22; Rashid, 1971, p. 96, fig. 7; Rashid, 1984, pp. 120-2, fig. 140.

PLATES 487, 493

673 Slab G: Three female musicians (note their increasing size) with cymbals and drums; on the right edge, part of harp overlapping onto the following slab.⁴

673a Or.Dr. VI, 45; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, signed with C. D. Hodder's initials; 34.3 × 45 cm (33.7 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'Centre Palace Kouyunjik (Sennacherib)'; 'WB' or 'MB' crossed out (see **369b** note).

Gadd, 1936, pl. 22 (left); Rashid, 1971, p. 94, fig. 5; Rashid, 1984, p. 122 and reconstructed drawing.

PLATE 494

674 Slab H: Only the upper part of the slab is shown; a bearded man and a beardless *kalu*-priest, with a tall hat in the shape of a fish-tail, are playing harps; behind them, on the right edge of the slab, two similar harpists are represented.

674a Or.Dr. VI, 38; pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, signed with C. D. Hodder's initials; 32.4 × 35.6 cm (26.7 cm).

Annotations in pencil: 'Centre Palace Kouyunjik (Sennacherib)'; 'Fragment from the centre locality'; 'WB' or 'MB' (see **369b** note).

Gadd, 1936, pl. 22 (right).

PLATE 495

674b Original in London, BM WA 124948 (56-9-9, 6); 67.9 × 112.4 cm; gypsum.

Upper parts of two pairs of harpists survive; the top of the slab has been cut away.

Hall, 1928, pl. XXXVIII:2; Mitchell, 1980, pl. 15; Rashid, 1984, p. 122, fig. 141.

PLATE 495

675 Slab (?): New York, MMA 32.143, 13; ex Canford Manor, sold by Lord Wimborne to Dikran Kelekian in 1919; gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1932; 67.3 × 34.9 cm.

Upper part of the crown-prince, wearing a diadem with circles or rosettes and a pair of fringed pendant bands behind, and a long robe with an

elaborate shawl encircling the body and drawn over his left shoulder, his right arm adorned with bracelets consisting of rosettes; his hand is resting on his dagger, which has a pair of lions on its scabbard chape. Gadd, 1936, p. 239; Porada, 1945, p. 152; Reade, 1967, pp. 45–8, pl. XIII; cf. Reade, 1981b, pp. 249–50.

PLATE 496

Notes

- 1 Ben-Barak, 1986, p. 92; Wiseman, 1974.
- 2 [The joins between **661a+b** and **c**, **662b** and **c**, and **664a** and **b** were proposed by Reade (1967, p. 48, nn. 23 and 24. To facilitate photomontage the plaster make-up is not shown. TCM]
- 3 Rashid (1971, p. 96 and 1984, p. 120) identifies this instrument as a frame drum ('Rahmentrommel').
- 4 [The joining of the parts of the harps on **673** and **674** proposed by Rashid (1971, fig. 5 on p. 94 and redrawn in 1984, p. 122) is not fully convincing since the sound boxes are at different angles. There may be distortion in the original drawings, however, because of the sloping floor, in which case it could be correct. TCM]

UNATTRIBUTED ORIGINAL DRAWINGS AND FRAGMENTS

The following fragments – some drawn and some surviving – probably date to the reign of Sennacherib but some may be later. Further study of the styles of the Ashurbanipal sculptures should allow more precise attributions in the future. The drawings and fragments have been arranged according to the following categories:

- 1 Thresholds (**676–681**).
- 2 Entrance figures (**682–686**).
- 3 Siege scenes (**691**).
- 4 Camp scenes (**694–698**).
- 5 Soldiers in the Assyrian army.
 - a) Cavalry and horses (**700–713**).
 - b) Archers (**721–730**).
 - c) Miscellaneous fragments (**735–746**).
- 6 Scribe and deportees (**751–761**).
- 7 Animals (**765–766**).
- 8 Scenery (**771–778**).

Gaps have been left in the numbering so that additional fragments can be incorporated.

1. THRESHOLDS (PLATES 498–499)

For a further drawing in this category, see **61d**, attributed to Room V.

676 Or.Dr. V, 56; unsigned pencil drawing on greyish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 49.4 × 37.8 cm (28.6 cm).
Annotation in pencil: *Kouyunjik, Ornamental pavement*.

The ornamental pavement is shown incomplete on one side; the outer edge is decorated with a lotus-and-cone garland, followed by a band of rosettes. The field design consists of two large rectangular sections made up of rows of circles that overlap in such a way as to create six-rayed stars. The small section in the middle, divided by rosette bands, remains undecorated. This may be the pavement decorating Entrance *e* of Throneroom I (B); see **22** and **61d**.

Albenda, 1978, p. 15, pl. 13 and cf. pls 19–21 for almost identical slabs from Ashurbanipal's North Palace.

PLATE 498

677 Or.Dr. V, 51; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, probably by C. D. Hodder; 39 × 28.9 cm (24.1 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'Fragment of an Ornamental Slab – Kouyunjik'*.

This fragment shows part of the pavement of an inner threshold; the outer edge is decorated with a lotus-and-cone garland – two lotus-flowers and three cones remain – followed by a rosette band; on one side, part of a quatrefoil panel with lotus-flowers and cones originating from a rosette; in a corner there is part of a curved, raised, triple moulding for a door-socket; the triangle beside it is decorated with a lotus and two rosettes.

Albenda, 1978, p. 14, pl. 9.

PLATE 499

678 Or.Dr. V, 52; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, probably by C. D. Hodder; 29.8 × 40.5 cm (30.2 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'Fragment of Ornamental Slab found at Kouyunjik'*.
Fragment showing the corner of an inner threshold; the outer edge is decorated with a lotus-and-cone garland, the better preserved side has a rosette band; the inner corner is filled with a lotus-flower of the same kind, but smaller than that of the outer garland.

Albenda, 1978, p. 14, pl. 10.

PLATE 499

679 Or.Dr. I, 53; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white; 43.8 × 67 cm (41 cm).

Annotation in ink: *'Pavement, Kouyunjik'*.

Part of the central section of a portal pavement. The outer edge is decorated with a rosette band, a lotus-and-bud garland follows, and thereafter two rosette bands, and a third which surrounds quatrefoils, three of them depicted, each consisting of four lotus-flowers and a lotus bud in each corner.

Albenda, 1978, pp. 15–16, pl. 15.

PLATE 499

680 Or.Dr. V, 57; unsigned pencil drawing on brownish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, probably by C. D. Hodder; 36.8 × 46.7 cm (4.2 cm).

Annotation in pencil: *'Ornamental pavement – locality uncertain'*.

The central section of an inner threshold is represented, showing at its outer edge a lotus-and-cone garland, followed by three rosette bands, separated from each other by plain strips; an undecorated triple border has a rectangular slot in the middle.

Albenda, 1978, pp. 14–15, pl. 11.

PLATE 499

681 London, BM WA 124942 (no coll. number); 50.8 × 96.5 × 15.2 cm.

Right side of an inner threshold with a lotus-and-cone garland on its outer edge, three rows of rosettes separated by plain bands, and raised circular mouldings for a door-socket.

Albenda, 1978, p. 14, pl. 12.

PLATE 499

2. ENTRANCE FIGURES (PLATES 500–501)

682 Or.Dr. IV, III Miscellaneous; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by A. H. Layard, with light brown wash, on whitish paper; 22.2 × 34.6 cm (22.2 cm).

Two slabs from an entrance, each showing a figure with right arm raised, facing right, with traces of a lion's head on the left figure and traces of a human head on the right figure; they are dressed in short kilts with embroidered borders, and are barefoot (cf. **686**).

Green, 1986a, p. 199, no. 86 (attributed to Forecourt H).

PLATE 500

683 Mosul, formerly outside the Nergal Gate Museum; present location unknown; dimensions not available.

Entrance figure. Portion of a bearded god in a head-dress with three pairs of horns, with his arm raised, facing right.

From a photograph taken by J. J. Orchard.

PLATE 501

684 Mosul, Nergal Gate Museum (?); 178 × 140 × 24 cm.

Joining fragments showing the lower part of a human-bodied entrance figure with eagle's feet. Green proposes identification with the slab flanking Entrance *b* from Room LXIX into Room LXX (**641**).

Green, 1986a, pp. 199–200, pl. 20, fig. 17.

From a photograph taken by J. J. Orchard.

PLATE 501

685 London, BM WA 1930-5-8, 223; 21.5 × 22.3 × 7.6 cm.

Part of an Entrance figure, showing an eagle's claw. See **18**.

PLATE 501

686 London, BM WA 1930-5-8, 220; 16.5 × 12.7 × 6.3 cm.

Small fragment of an entrance figure's kilt (see **682**), showing the embroidered border (inscribed squares and a rosette) and part of the fringes.

PLATE 501

687–690 Not used.

3. SIEGE SCENES (PLATES 502–503)

For further drawings or fragments in this category see **91**, **652**.

691a Or.Dr. VI, 24; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on greyish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash; 44.9 × 68.9 cm (55.7 cm).

Annotations in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'; numbered '2' and '1' (corrected from '1' and '2' which have been erased).

Two adjoining slabs depicting a fortified city on top of a hill, attacked by three files of soldiers ascending the hill; below, an Assyrian soldier has grasped two captives by their hair and beards; on the right edge is part of a man carrying the head of a slain enemy, probably to the scribes on a slab to the right; at the bottom a small river with fish is represented. Rivers along the bottom of slabs with mountains occur in Rooms VIII, IX and XLV.

PLATE 502

691b Original of a large fragment of the right slab in London, BM WA 130728 (95-5-14, 11); 86.3 × 82.5 cm.

PLATE 503

692–693 Not used.

4. CAMP SCENES (PLATES 504–505)

694 Or.Dr. VI, 3; pencil drawing on greyish paper, enhanced with white and brown wash, signed C. D. Hodder; 36.8 × 53.7 cm (47.3 cm). Annotations in pencil: '*Old Palace – Kouyunjik*'; '*Corner Slab*' written on the left part.

An Assyrian fortified camp is represented in wooded mountainous country, with a broad river (?) with fish in the bottom left corner. Traces of an offering table remain on the upper edge; a row of Assyrian soldiers carrying spoil, in front of them officers before the enthroned king (whose footstool only remained); below, there are two rows of open tents and marquees.

SAA IV, fig. 37.

PLATE 504

695 Istanbul, AM 7851; dimensions not available.

Fragment showing the lower left part of an Assyrian camp with the heads of two horses below a tent with bed and table.

Gadd, 1936, p. 227 (this is not part of slab 19 in Room XLVIII (M) as suggested by Gadd, following Unger, because it would overlap with the camp shown on slab 20, **529**); Wäfler, 1975, p. 370; see Russell, 1995, p. 80 where a 'castle' (i.e. camp) in Room XXXIX (Y) is described, of which this might be a fragment.

PLATE 505

696 Istanbul, AM 6341a; 26 × 25 cm.

Small fragment with surface damaged by calcination, showing part of an open tent.

Gadd, 1936, p. 126; Wäfler, 1975, pp. 86, 99, 101.

PLATE 505

697 Istanbul, AM 6341c; 19 × 26.9 cm.

Small fragment probably from a camp scene.

Gadd, 1936, p. 126.

PLATE 505

698 London, BM WA 139494 (1983-1-1, 37): 24.1 × 20.3 × 6.3 cm. Lower right part of a tent (?) in mountainous country; below is part of an inscription: ⁴Sin. . .

PLATE 505

699 Not used.

5. SOLDIERS IN THE ASSYRIAN ARMY

(PLATES 506–513)

a) CAVALRY AND HORSES (PLATES 506–510)

For further drawings and fragments in this category, see **86–89, 651**.

700a Or.Dr. VI, 59 upper, unsigned pencil drawing (sketch) on thin yellowish paper; 11.4 × 19.7 cm (19.7 cm).

Annotation in ink: *'Fragments of a slab in gypsum from Kouyunjik in the BM'*.

Two led horses with grooms in mountainous wooded country.

PLATE 506

700b Original in London, BM WA 124777 (48-11-4, 9); 63.5 × 99 cm.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 59–60, no. 11; Paterson, 1915, pl. 96, no. 11; Gadd, 1936, pp. 164–5 who states that according to Layard this fragment came from a slab in Room D (XLV); Smith, 1938, p. 16, pl. XXXIXb.

PLATE 506

701 Or.Dr. VI, 2 upper; unsigned pencil drawing, probably by C. D. Hodder, on the same piece of brownish paper as **509a**, enhanced with brown wash; 68.2 × 45.8 cm (34.4 cm).

Annotations in pencil: *'Old Palace-Kouyunjik'*; the slabs are numbered '1' and '2'.

Two led horses with grooms, facing right in mountainous country; river with fish at the bottom, on two adjoining slabs. Rivers along the bottom of slabs with mountains occur in Rooms VIII, IX, and XLV.

Gadd, 1936, pp. 164–5 who states that according to Layard this fragment came from a slab in Room D (XLV); *SAA* IV, fig. 39.

PLATE 507

702 Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, RSM 1958.35 (ex London, BM WA 124778 [48-11-4, 10]); 55.9 × 106.7 cm.

Two Assyrian cavalrmen with spears, facing right, standing beside their horses in mountainous country.

Birch & Pinches, 1883, p. 60, no. 12; Paterson, 1915, p. 14, pl. 97, no. 12; Gadd, 1936, pp. 164–5, 251; Smith, 1938, p. 16, pl. XXXIXa; Barnett, 1962–3, p. 93.

PLATE 507

703 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1959.378; ex Canford School; 76.2 × 70 cm.

A horse, facing left, held by a soldier carrying a spear, and the head of a second horse, in wooded mountainous country, probably behind or

below the king's chariot. Parts of two joining slabs, each made up of several fragments.

Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London, 16 November 1959, p. 13, lot 55; *Ashmolean Museum Report of the Visitors 1959*, pl. IIa, p. 16; Weidner, 1959–60, p. 191; Reade, 1972, p. 110, pl. XXXVIb.

PLATE 508

704 Istanbul, AM 27; dimensions not available.

Only the wheel of the king's chariot remains with hindquarters of the horses and an Assyrian soldier accompanying the chariot, advancing towards the right beside a narrow river with fish; mountains below.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 73–4, fig. 64.

PLATE 509

705 Paris, Louvre AO 22.203 (ex De Clercq); 36.8 × 39 cm.

Horseman galloping towards the right; on the right edge, leg of a soldier; on left edge, legs of another horse.

De Clercq & Menant, 1890, pp. 136–7, pl. XIX, no. 20.

PLATE 510

706 Present location unknown; sold at Christies in 1994: it had been brought back by the seller's 'great great grandfather, a bishop, who travelled in the Middle East'; 21 × 18.3 cm.

Fragment showing part of a rider holding a spear, the front of his horse and the hooves of another horse above. Photograph kindly supplied by Christies.

Christies Sale Catalogue, London, 7 December 1994, lot 133.

PLATE 510

707 Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery IV A. 1317/73; ex Oscott College VII; 23.5 × 29.2 × 2.5 cm.

Horseman galloping towards the left.

PLATE 510

708 London, BM WA 139493 (1963-1-1, 36); 11.5 × 11.5 cm.

Lower part of kilt and knee of a soldier and the leg of a horse.

PLATE 510

709 Jerusalem, The Israel Museum 76.44.869; ex Harry Stearns Collection, Jerusalem; 14.6 × 17.1 × 2–2.5 cm.

Part of a horse facing right and the right arm of the rider holding the bridle.

PLATE 510

710 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E. 151.1920; 17.2 × 23.2 cm.

Head of a horse with bridle, facing left; one of a pair, against a mountain background.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 104–5, fig. 84.

PLATE 510

711 London, BM WA 123533 (1935-6-26, 1); missing in April 1961; 9.8 × 12.4 cm.

Head of a horse, facing left, and a man's hand holding the bridle.

Weidner, 1963, pp. 198, 200, fig. 11.

PLATE 510

712 London, BM WA 136714 (1975-12-7, 1); gift of E. M. Malan; 17.8 × 15.8 × 1.9 cm; yellowish stone, blackened by burning.
Head of a horse with bridle, facing left.
PLATE 510

713 London, BM WA 1930-5-8, 222; 21 × 20.3 × 12.7 cm; grey stone covered with white.
Head of a horse, facing right; branch of a tree above.
PLATE 510

714–720 Not used.

b) ARCHERS (PLATES 497, 511–512)

For further drawings and fragments in this category see **84, 90, 505**.

721 London, BM WA 124776 (51-9-2, 26); 66 × 104.1 × 15.2 cm.
Three pairs of Assyrian warriors facing right, each archer protected by a siege-shield, against a mountain-scale pattern; feet of upper register.
Birch & Pinches, 1883, pp. 58–9, no. 10; Paterson, 1915, p. 14, pl. 96, no. 10; Gadd, 1936, pp. 163, 226; Smith, 1938, p. 16, pl. XXXVIIIb.
PLATE 511

722 Vatican 14993 (ex 3); 51.4 × 39.4 cm.
Fragment showing part of a battle scene in a register; on the left edge, the upper part of an archer shooting towards the right; before him an Assyrian archer beside a soldier with a dagger and a siege-shield with the top curved inward.
Weidner, 1939, pp. 16–18, fig. 14.
PLATE 511

723 Seattle Art Museum 46.49; ex Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, partially donated by Hagop Kevorkian; 25.4 × 21.6 × 2.2 cm.
Part of battle scene: an Assyrian archer and spearman holding a high siege-shield, fighting towards the right; on the right edge, the arm and the quiver of another archer; in the lower left corner, part of a water-course. *Seattle Art Museum Annual Report 1946*, p. 9; *Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma: Our Ancient Heritage*, 1963, no. 130.
PLATE 511

724 London, BM WA 135199 (1970.1.31, 3); ex Royal Geographical Society 1; 60.3 × 36.5 cm.
An Assyrian archer and a spearman with a high siege-shield, fighting towards the right; traces of a water-course below.
Weidner, 1939, pp. 70–4, fig. 61; Barnett, 1959, pp. 197–8, no. 1; Mitchell, 1971–2, pp. 135, 144, n. 17 (according to whom it is possibly from Room XXXVIII, as also **725** and **727**); Barnett, 1976, pl. LXXI (m).
PLATE 512

725 London, BM WA 135205 (1970-1-31, 9); ex Royal Geographical Society 3; 67.3 × 34 cm.
Two auxiliary archers, facing right; traces of a water course below.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 70–4, fig. 62; Mitchell, 1971–2, pp. 135, 144, n. 17 (according to whom it is possibly from Room XXXVIII, as also **724** and **727**).
PLATE 512

726 Buffalo, Museum of Science C 15549; 21.5 × 16.5 × 2.2 cm.
Fragment made up of three pieces, showing two kneeling Assyrian soldiers side by side: an archer drawing his bow and a swordsman crouched behind his tall, curved siege-shield; behind them, wall of a building or city.
Paley, 1983.
PLATE 512

727 London, BM WA 135198 (1970-1-31, 2); ex Royal Geographical Society 2; 62.5 × 27 cm; gypsum.
Two auxiliary archers facing right; water course below.
Weidner, 1939, pp. 70–4, fig. 63; Mitchell, 1971–2, pp. 135, 144, n. 17 (according to whom it is possibly from Room XXXVIII, as also **724** and **725**); Barnett, 1976, pl. LXXI (l).
PLATE 512

728 Pittsfield, The Berkshire Museum 05.5; donated by Thomas Colt in 1905; 30.5 × 30.5 × 3.8 cm.
Three auxiliary archers with quivers on their backs and the quiver-covers hanging down, marching towards the right; at the top, feet from another register.
PLATE 512

729 Rome, Museo Barracco 54; 32 × 28 cm.
Three auxiliary archers, and part of a fourth on the right edge, shown marching downhill towards the right; traces of an upper register.
Weidner, 1939, p. 41, fig. 38; Lorenzini *et al.*, 1980, p. 150.
PLATE 512

730 Present location unknown; ex Athens, J. Pimenides Collection; dimensions not available.
Part of a battle scene: torso of soldier, and part of a round shield made of wickerwork(?) above.
From an old photograph in the BM.
PLATE 512

731 Sydney, Nicholson Museum 51.323 (acquired in 1951 and reputedly from Layard's excavations); 67 × 27 cm; lower right corner restored.
Two auxiliary archers facing right and shooting upwards; water course with fish below. See **725–727** for parallels.
Lawler, 1979, no. 6.
PLATE 497

732–734 Not used.

c) MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS (PLATE 513)

For further drawings and fragments in this category see **85, 459–462**.

735 Present location unknown; private Californian foundation sold at Sotheby's New York, in 1993; Charles Dikran Kelekian Collection, New York, 1973; property of a lady, sold at Sotheby's in 1972.

Head of an Assyrian soldier who is facing left and carrying a spear. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue London, 10 July 1972, lot 85; Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, New York 12 July 1993, lot 222.

PLATE 513

736 London, BM WA 127385 (no coll. no.); missing in April 1961; dimensions not available.

Head of an Assyrian soldier facing left, wearing a conical helmet, in front of mountain-scale pattern; traces of feet from another register at the top. Weidner, 1963, pp. 199–200, fig. 13.

PLATE 513

737 London, BM WA 139500 (1983-1-1, 43); 25.4 × 17.8 × 3.8 cm; yellowish stone.

Spearman in a crested helmet facing right, climbing up a steep hill.

PLATE 513

738 Vatican 15001 (ex 18); 21 × 15.9 cm.

Head of an Assyrian facing right, wearing a pointed helmet and holding a spear.

Weidner, 1939, pp. 24–5, fig. 26.

PLATE 513

739 Paris, Louvre AO 17.152; dimensions not available.

Heads of two Assyrian soldiers with pointed helmets facing left, one of them an archer.

PLATE 513

740 London, BM WA 1991-4-6, 1; autographed in ink on the back 'A. H. Layard' and in another hand 'Given to me by H. Rassam at Liverpool, July 7/1851' or '31 1851' and signed 'J(?) Doubleday'. Doubleday had presumably been sent by the Museum to meet the *Fortitude* when it docked (see Gadd, 1936, p. 65; elsewhere – e.g. on p. 167 – he implies that the *Fortitude* reached England in August but since objects were already being registered on 2 August, an arrival in July is more likely); 20.3 × 13.5 cm.

Heads of a soldier in a pointed helmet and of an archer beside him.

PLATE 513

741 Present location unknown (photograph by kind permission of Mr and Mrs McAlpine, London); 35 × 43 × 10.5 cm (two fragments joined).

Parts of two soldiers facing left; traces of a palm leaf in front of the first soldier; he wears a pointed helmet with hinged ear-flaps.

Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London 3 December 1991, lot 45 where it is stated that it was acquired by the original owners prior to 1860.

PLATE 513

742 Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum, The Burrell Collection 28.65; acquired from John Hunt in 1952; 15.2 × 10.2 cm.

Head of an Assyrian soldier with pointed helmet, facing left, with a palm frond above. A label on the reverse reads: 'A head of a warrior dug in

the excavations in Nineveh in the year [thou]sand eight hun[dred] [a]nd forty nine ... by ... Hor[m]juzd = (?) Rassam'.

Hannah, 1952–3, p. 351, no. 24.

PLATE 513

743 London, BM WA 139499 (1983-1-1, 42); 86.3 × 82.5 cm.

Parts of soldiers, facing left, climbing up a hill; possibly from Room XLV (D); cf. also **691b**.

PLATE 513

744 London, BM WA 139497 (1983-1-1, 40); 22.8 × 24.1 × 5.7 cm; blackened by burning on the right side.

Lower part of an Assyrian soldier, bending downward towards the left in mountainous country; possibly from Room XLV (D).

PLATE 513

745 London, BM WA 139496 (1983-1-1, 39); 29.2 × 30.5 × 8.2 cm.

Indeterminate scene. On the right is a fragmentary figure facing left, holding a rope or halter; on the left are a fringe and perhaps a bow. The surface of the lower half is badly damaged.

PLATE 513

746 London, BM WA 132968 (no coll. no.); 22.9 × 12 cm (four fragments joined).

Advancing leg of an Assyrian soldier, walking towards the left in mountainous country.

PLATE 513

747–750 Not used.

6. SCRIBE AND DEPORTEES

(PLATES 514–515)

For further drawings or fragments in this category see **83, 371–380, 614**.

751 London, BM WA 102079 (97-10-8, 8); presented by Miss H. G. Wainwright in 1897; missing in April 1961; 14.9 × 14 cm.

Small fragment showing parts of two scribes; the nearer wears a broad belt, and is writing on a leather or papyrus scroll. See **263** for a possible location.

Weidner, 1963, pp. 198, 200, fig. 10.

PLATE 514

752 Paris, Altman Collection; 58 × 79 cm.

A row of four deportees in mountainous country advancing towards the right, followed by an Assyrian soldier holding his spear upright; to judge from the prisoners' head-dresses, they might possibly have come from Lachish. On the left edge, a hand holding a yoke.

PLATE 514

753 New York, MMA 32.143. 17; ex Canford Manor, sold by Lord Wimborne to Dikran Kelekian in 1919; gift of John Rockefeller Jr., 1932; 44.5 × 40.6 cm.

Fragment showing a scene of deportation: a female prisoner is followed by two male deportees wearing animal skins; behind them an Assyrian soldier is brandishing a stick; beneath their feet, a mountain-scale pattern.

Porada, 1945, p. 160.

PLATE 514

754 Brussels, MRAH O.1856; dimensions not available.

Two prisoners of war, probably from Syria, are advancing towards the left; they wear head-bands, and carry sacks over their shoulders. It is possible that this fragment comes from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal. Goossens, 1951, pp. 27–9.

PLATE 514

755 Brussels, MRAH O.3870; ex Amherst; 36.8 × 33 cm.

Fragment of a corner slab (a niche or doorway) showing deportees advancing towards the left, shouldering their sacks; the captive on the right wears an animal skin cloak; on the right edge, the manacled hands of another deported captive.

Wäfler, 1975, p. 279, n. 1438; Homès-Fredericq, 1982 (suggesting Room XXXI as a location).

PLATE 515

756 New Haven, Yale Babylonian Collection 2356; removed in 1849 by the Reverend Augustus Walker of Diyarbekir for his brother Dean Horace Walker of Yale; 18.8 × 9.4 × 2.3–2.6 cm.

The upper part of a Babylonian deportee (see e.g. Room XXVIII) moving towards the right with a bag over his shoulder. He follows another deportee part of whose bag (or a pot?) is visible on the right.

PLATE 515

757 Present location unknown; ex Amherst; dimensions unknown.

The upper torso and chin of a female deportee, facing left, carrying a bag, and part of the bag of the deportee in front. Known only from an old photograph among Weidner's papers in the Institut für Orientalistik in the University of Vienna.

PLATE 515

758 London, BM WA 130713 (1939-12-7, 1); 17.4 × 16.5 cm.

Elamite prisoner moving towards the left, followed by an Assyrian archer.

PLATE 515

759 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, Sem. 944; bought by the Antikensammlung from Ida Reiffer in 1890; 7.6 × 8 cm.

Small fragment showing only the head of a bearded man, facing right.

PLATE 515

760 London, BM WA K 14920; 4.0 × 8.3 cm.

Part of the head of a deported man similar to those from Room XXXII (EE): fire-blackened (see Room XLV (D)).

PLATE 515

761 Present location unknown; sold at Christies, 1994; 8.1 × 9.5 cm.

Head of a deportee with one arm extended, facing right. Inscribed

on a label on the back: 'From the Koyunjik palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh'. Photograph kindly supplied by Christies.

Christies Sale Catalogue, London, 7 December 1994, lot 235.

PLATE 515

762–764 Not used.

7. ANIMALS (PLATE 516)

765 Oxford, Magdalen College 2; 5.1 × 5.1 cm.

Small fragment showing the head of a bull, facing left, probably from a deportation scene.

Weidner, 1939, p. 95, fig. 78.

PLATE 516

766 London, BM WA 90961 (K 12093); 15.2 × 10.1 × 5 cm.

Heads of two goats, facing right, against a mountain-scale pattern.

PLATE 516

767–770 Not used.

8. SCENERY (PLATES 516–517)

For further fragments in this category see **105**, **149**. A fragment depicting a dead goat floating in a river was in storage in Room V in 1990 but was reported stolen in 1995 (Russell, pers. comm. and 1997, p. 11, fig. 7).

771 London, BM WA 139498 (1983-1-1, 41); 29.9 × 14 × 7 cm.

Part of a deciduous tree in mountainous country.

PLATE 516

772 London, BM WA 124274 (1932-12-12, 4); 20.2 × 19 × 5 cm.

Deciduous tree in mountainous country.

PLATE 516

773 Istanbul, AM 2564 (ex 36); 41.5 × 45 cm.

A tree in mountainous country, growing on the bank of a water-course; possibly from the bottom of a slab adjacent to **197**.

Wäfler, 1975, p. 368.

PLATE 516

774 London, BM WA 132969; 21.6 × 14 cm.

Water with fish and a small area of mountainous country.

PLATE 517

775 London, BM WA 139492 (1983-1-1, 35); 21 × 14 × 6.4 cm.

Water with two fish above, uncarved surface below.

PLATE 517

776 London, BM WA 139501 (1983-1-1, 44); 33 × 21.5 × 10.1 cm.

Part of water course with fish above, and uncarved surface below; very worn.

PLATE 517

777 Istanbul, AM 7852: Dimensions not available.

Water and fish.

PLATE 517

778 London, BM WA 132897 (1960-5-18, 1); 20.3 × 20.0 cm.

Water with fish.

PLATE 517

779–780 Not used.

UNIDENTIFIED WATERCOLOURS

(PLATES 518–519)

781 Sketch by Malan(?), Or.Dr. IV, VII Miscellaneous; 37 × 26.6 cm.

Annotation in pencil: *'Excavations at Nineveh'*.

A tunnel in Layard's excavations, lined with a slab showing wooded hills above, led horses in the middle, and soldiers with round shields moving towards the left below (similar to the bull-moving scenes of Court VI – see 156–158). Beyond, to the left of a doorway are other slabs in several registers. Two Arabs show a fragment with a three-line inscription to a bearded man, very probably Layard.

PLATE 518

782 Sketch by Malan(?), O.Dr. IV, Misc. VI; 38 × 28.4 cm.

Annotation in pencil: *'Excavations at Nineveh'*. Possibly the same location as 781. Only the lower part of a slab has survived *in situ* in one of Layard's tunnels, showing trees in mountainous country.

PLATE 519

783 Watercolour by F. C. Cooper, Or.Dr. II, 54 lower, copied in the engraving in Layard, 1853a, p. 66.

Annotation in pencil: *'Arabs engaged in excavations'*. A row of deportees beside palm-trees, a small river above, and soldiers advancing to the left can be distinguished on the engraving which bears the caption *'Subterranean Excavations at Kouyunjik'* but is not so clear on the original. In the background is a relief in at least three registers with a horse moving towards the right visible on the top one.

Reade, 1983, p. 10, fig. 5 (colour).

PLATE 519

784–785 Not used.

UNIDENTIFIED PHOTOGRAPHS BY

L. W. KING (PLATES 520–521)

786 View showing several tunnels into the mound of Kouyunjik made at various levels by King's predecessors.

PLATE 520

787 Entrance slab which other unpublished photographs show to have been found not far to the right of the scene shown in 786. It depicts a figure similar to one of those on 362 but it has not proved possible to locate it. It may be from another area investigated by King.

PLATE 520

788–789 Only the lower part of a winged entrance bull has survived, taken from the front and from the side; behind it, a high baulk is visible. Some Arabs are shown at work.

This is perhaps the entrance in the true exterior wall in the southwest, discovered by King (Campbell Thompson & Hutchinson, 1929a, p. 61); a bull is mentioned in King's letter of 30 April 1903 (D'Andrea, 1981, p. 152, no. 1903.319):

This week I have found a huge colossal bull which was not known to Layard. It is as big as those at Khorsabad and is a fine fellow though he has lost his head. Layard's plan of the palace is not only incomplete but for the W. part extraordinarily inaccurate, for he seems to have stopped tunnelling here and trusted to conjecture. His 'Grand Entrance' on the W. side is not only wrong in the form but in position, and Room L and passage LI, instead of jutting out as they do in his plan right beyond the exterior wall are within it. The bull I have found is part of the real entrance and stands N&S, not like those in Layard's conjectured 'Grand Entrance' which stand W&E. . . . The edge of the mound is wrongly marked in Layard's plan for it is a good deal farther away from the palace than he puts it.

PLATE 521

A. Concordance of Museum and Collection Numbers

Catalogue numbers are in bold

Athens? (ex), J. Pimenides Collection – 730	Edinburgh (UK), Royal Scottish Museum
Athens (ex), Major S. Burney Collection – 177	RSM 1874.7.2 167
Baghdad, Iraq Museum	RSM 1958.35 702
IM 26230 352	Florence, Museo Archeologico
IM 31070 353 bis	93806 542
IM 60656 168	Glasgow (UK), Art Gallery and Museum, Burrell Collection
IM 60657 157c	BC 28.33 303
IM ? 654	BC 28.65 742
Beirut, American University	BC 28.73 418 bis
AU 2677 165	BC 28.77 315
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatische Abteilung	Hartford (CT, USA), The Wadsworth Athenaeum
VA 953a–c 670b–672b	WA 84.1917 503b
VA 955 659c	Honolulu (HI, USA), Academy of Arts
VA 956 658b	HAA 3608 532c or 533 (ex H. Hornstein, Jerusalem)
VA 957 667	Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzeleri – Eski Sark Eserler Müzesi
VA 958 663	AM 2 158b
Beverly Hills (CA, USA), California Museum of Ancient Art	AM 3 159
83 A S1 504b	AM 20 157b
Birmingham (UK), City Museum and Art Gallery	AM 21 560b
A. 99'60 302 (ex Julia du Cane)	AM 25 + 416 136c
IV A. 1317'73 707 (ex Oscott College VII)	AM 26 497b
Bloomfield Hills (MI, USA), Cranbrook Academy of Arts (ex) 450c	AM 27 704
Bloomington (IN, USA), Indiana University of Art Museum	AM 28 160
Ind. 47401 380 (ex Edmond)	AM 32 + 6340 162
Boston (MA, USA), Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Egyptian Art	AM 34 497c
MFA 33.683 (ex 4) 650b (ex A. Broomhall Willson)	AM 35 498b
MFA 33.684 (ex 3) 271b (ex A. Broomhall Willson)	AM 36 (ex) = 2564 773
MFA 60.133 292b (ex Canford)	AM 66–69 458
MFA 60.134 196b (ex Canford)	AM 416 + 25 136c
Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire	AM 461 166
O.1818 173	AM 2564 (ex 36) 773
O.1856 754	AM 6330 406
O.1930 412 (ex Mrs C. Daubeny; ex Torquay N. H. Soc.)	AM 6331 407
O.3847 163	AM 6332 400
O.3869 371b (ex Amherst)	AM 6333 409
O.3870 755 (ex Amherst)	AM 6334 405
Buffalo (NY, USA), Museum of Science	AM 6335 403
C 15549 726	AM 6336 404
Cambridge (UK), Fitzwilliam Museum	AM 6337 39
E. 151.1920 710	AM 6338 415
Canford Manor (home of Layard's father-in-law), now Canford School (ex)	AM 6339 416
196b–c, 286b, 292b, 365c, 378, 450b, 456b, 555, 653, 675, 703, 753	AM 6340 + 32 162
	AM 6341a 696
Como, Civico Museo Archeologico 'Giovio'	AM 6341b+d 200b
Como 1 413	AM 6341c 697
Como 2 541	AM 7387 136e
Cracow, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie (Muzeum XX. Czarzoryskich)	AM 7851 695
VII 623 410	AM 7852 777

A. CONCORDANCE OF MUSEUM AND COLLECTION NUMBERS

Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum		BM WA 124791 (cast)	15a
BLMJ 1063 196c (ex Pomerance; ex Canford)		BM WA 124792	113a
BLMJ 1112 653		BM WA 124795a+b	584
Jerusalem, The Israel Museum		BM WA 124796a-c	577b-579b
IM 76.44.869 709 (ex H. Stearns)		BM WA 124797a	575b
Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, Antiken Sammlung		BM WA 124797b	576a
Lg 80/4+3 (Leihgabe der Daimler Benz AG, Stuttgart) - 450c		BM WA 124798	568b
Leeds, City Museum (ex) - 174, 180		BM WA 124799a+b	565b-566b
Liverpool (UK), The Merseyside County Museum		BM WA 124801a-c	381b-383b
10-10-78.33 524b		BM WA 124802a-c	384c-386c
London, Bonhams 1995 - 163 bis		BM WA 124803	397
London, British Museum, Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities		BM WA 124804 + 131126	388
BM WA AOC 40	408	BM WA 124805	389
BM WA AOC 41	314	BM WA 124806	390
BM WA K 14920	760	BM WA 124807	394
BM WA 90955	377	BM WA 124808	392
BM WA 90961	766	BM WA 124809	421 bis
BM WA 92273	421 (Sm. 2318)	BM WA 124810	395
BM WA 93019	180 (ex Leeds City Museum)	BM WA 124820a+b	152b-153b
BM WA 102072	490b (ex Miss H. G. Wainwright)	BM WA 124821a+b	156c
BM WA 102073	466c (ex Miss H. G. Wainwright)	BM WA 124822	147a
BM WA 102074	90 (ex Miss H. G. Wainwright)	BM WA 124823	143b
BM WA 102075	466b (ex Miss H. G. Wainwright)	BM WA 124824	148b
BM WA 102078	105 (ex Miss H. G. Wainwright)	BM WA 124825a+b	282b-283b
BM WA 102079	751 (ex Miss H. G. Wainwright)	BM WA 124825c	284b
BM WA 115028	182	BM WA 124826	531c
BM WA 116733	482b	BM WA 124900	657
BM WA 118815	5a	BM WA 124901	668
BM WA 118817	5d	BM WA 124902	369c
BM WA 118819	5c	BM WA 124903	370c
BM WA 118821	5b	BM WA 124904	428c
BM WA 118932	363	BM WA 124905	429c
BM WA 121357	391	BM WA 124906	430c
BM WA 121382	183	BM WA 124907	431c
BM WA 122118	393	BM WA 124908	432c
BM WA 123339	442b	BM WA 124909	433c
BM WA 123533	711	BM WA 124910	434c
BM WA 124272	149	BM WA 124911	435c
BM WA 124274	772	BM WA 124912	436c
BM WA 124772	195b	BM WA 124913	437b
BM WA 124773	184b	BM WA 124914	438b
BM WA 124774a+b	340b	BM WA 124915	439b
BM WA 124774c+d	341b	BM WA 124942	681
BM WA 124774e	342b	BM WA 124947	511b
BM WA 124775	516	BM WA 124948	674b
BM WA 124776	721	BM WA 124949	664b
BM WA 124777	700b	BM WA 124950	662c
BM WA 124778 (ex)	702	BM WA 124951	665
BM WA 124779	221b	BM WA 124952	104c
BM WA 124780	221c	BM WA 124953	344c
BM WA 124782a-c	277b	BM WA 124954	345c
BM WA 124783a+b	219b-220b	BM WA 124955	346c
BM WA 124784a-c	234b-236b	BM WA 124956	347c
BM WA 124785a-d	238b-241b	BM WA 124957	348c
BM WA 124786a+b	243b-244b	BM WA 124958	349c
BM WA 124787	245b	BM WA 124959	350b
BM WA 124789	32b	BM WA 124960	351b
BM WA 124790 (cast)	13a	BM WA 127385	736
		BM WA 127407	175

A. CONCORDANCE OF MUSEUM AND COLLECTION NUMBERS

BM WA 130713	758	Mosul (Iraq), Archaeological Museum or Nergal Gate Museum
BM WA 130724	104d	NGM 1 662b
BM WA 130728	691b	NGM 2 661a + b
BM WA 131123	151	NGM 4 669
BM WA 131125	398	NGM 5 664c
BM WA 131126 + 124804	388	NGM ? 683
BM WA 132024	176	NGM ? 684
BM WA 132814	286b (ex Canford)	Munich, Ägyptologisches Institut
BM WA 132897	778	Ass. 7 (ex 3) 169
BM WA 132968	746	Newbury (UK), District Museum – see Oxford (UK), Ashmolean Museum
BM WA 132969	774	181, 532b, 607c
BM WA 134862	179	New Haven (CT, USA), Yale Babylonian Collection
BM WA 135108	313b	YBC 2356 756 (ex Walker)
BM WA 135109	396	New York (NY, USA), The Brooklyn Museum, Department of Egyptian and Classical Art
BM WA 135122	419	L 76.11.4 171
BM WA 135123	399	L 81.63 170 (ex Philip Carlson Collection)
BM WA 135198	727 (ex RGS 2)	New York (NY, USA), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art
BM WA 135199	724 (ex RGS 1)	MMA 32.143.13 675 (ex Canford)
BM WA 135200	661c (ex RGS 8)	MMA 32.143.15 365c (ex Canford)
BM WA 135205	725 (ex RGS 3)	MMA 32.143.16 450b (ex Canford)
BM WA 135302	112	MMA 32.143.17 753 (ex Canford)
BM WA 135303	161	MMA 32.143.18 456b (ex Canford)
BM WA 135751	460	MMA 54.136.1 365d (ex E. van Wyck)
BM WA 136714	712 (ex E. Malan)	MMA 55.121.4 481b
BM WA 139492	755	New York (NY, USA), Pomerance Collection (ex)
BM WA 139493	708	PC VIII, 12 196c (ex Canford)
BM WA 139494	698	New York (NY, USA), Royal-Athena Galleries – 418
BM WA 139495	459	New York (NY, USA), Schimmel Collection (ex) – 482d
BM WA 139496	745	New York (NY, USA), Sotheby's, 1993 – 735
BM WA 139497	744	New York (NY, USA), Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection – 16a
BM WA 139498	771	Oxford (UK), The Ashmolean Museum
BM WA 139499	743	1933.1575 645b
BM WA 139500	737	1933.1669 (ex 2) 532a
BM WA 139501	776	1950.240 89
BM WA 139502	37	1959.378 703 (ex Canford)
BM WA 139503	38	1979.994 555 (ex Canford)
BM WA 139505	420	Newbury Loan 1 181
BM WA 139506	505	Newbury Loan 2 607c
BM WA 139619	174 (ex Leeds City Museum)	Newbury Loan 3 532b
BM WA 1930-5-8, 220	686	Oxford (UK), Magdalen College – 172, 765
BM WA 1930-5-8, 222	713	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales
BM WA 1930-5-8, 223	685	AO 2255 (ex 80) 91
BM WA 1991-4-6, 1	740 (ex J. Doubleday)	AO 17.152 739
London, Christies, 1994 – 378, 706, 761		AO 19.920 (ex 81) 316
London, Phillips, 1993 – 418		AO 22.203 705 (ex De Clercq)
London, Sotheby's, 1932 – 271b, 650b		Paris, Altman Collection – 752
London, Sotheby's, 1949 – 481b		Peterborough (UK), Lady Layard Collection and Museum Art Gallery (ex) – 89
London, Sotheby's, 1956 – 315		Pittsfield (MA, USA), The Berkshire Museum
London, Sotheby's, 1959 – 196b, 286b, 292b, 555, 653, 703		05.5 728
London, Sotheby's, 1960 – 302		Reading (UK), Museum and Art Gallery – 401
London, Sotheby's, 1963 – 379		Rome, Museo Barracco
London, Sotheby's, 1970 – 650c		50 (ex 2) 353
London, Sotheby's, 1972 – 735		53 402
London, Sotheby's, 1976 – 656		54 729
London, Sotheby's, 1986 – 16a		56 614
London, Spinks – 177, 285b, 418 bis		58 628b
Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia – 205b, 206b		
Manchester (UK), City Art Gallery and Athenaeum		
VII a 11 88		

A. CONCORDANCE OF MUSEUM AND COLLECTION NUMBERS

St Petersburg (Russia), Hermitage Museum	14993 (ex 3)	722
HM 7387 (ex 4)	15000 (ex 17)	538
HM no. ?	15001 (ex 18)	738
Seattle (W.A. USA), Art Museum	15002 (ex 19)	178
46.49 723 (ex E. Fuller)	15003 (ex 20)	540
46.50	15004 (ex 21)	537
57.54 417 (ex E. Fuller; ex J. Hirsch; ex Darmstadt (Heyl))	15005 (ex 22)	539
Sydney, Nicholson Museum	Venice, Museo Archeologica Civico, Deposito Correr	
51.323 731	DC 42	374
Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art – 656	DC 44	318
Toledo (OH, USA), Museum of Art	DC 46	319
Acc. no. 21.83	DC 47	607b
Toronto, The Royal Ontario Museum	DC 48	17
ROM 932.6	DC 49	375
ROM 950.86	DC 50	376
Torquay (UK), Natural History Society (ex) – 412	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung	
Turin, Museo Egizio (ex Museo d'Antichità)	Sem. 944	759 (ex Reiffer)
10410 (ex 5)	Warsaw, Musée National de Varsovie	
(ex 6)	MN 199333	14c
Vatican State, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie	MN 199334	15b
14982 (ex 4)	Present location unknown –	90, 105, 177, 314, 378, 379, 408, 418, 466b, 650c, 656, 685, 686, 706, 711, 713, 735, 736, 741, 751, 757, 761
14983 (ex 5)		
14992 (ex 2)		

B. Concordance of Original Drawings and Catalogue Numbers

<i>Or.Dr. vol., pl.</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>	<i>Or.Dr. vol., pl.</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>
I, 33	8a	II, 4	384a
I, 34	243a-246a	II, 5	385a
I, 35	219a-221a	II, 6	386a
I, 36	518a	II, 7	436b
I, 37	520a, 522a	II, 8	435b
I, 38	200a-201a	II, 9	434b
I, 39	291a-294a	II, 10	433b
I, 40	441a-443a	II, 11	432b
I, 41	444a	II, 12	431b
I, 42	445a	II, 13	430b
I, 43	446a	II, 14	429b
I, 44	449a-450a	II, 15	428b
I, 45	448a	II, 16	344b
I, 46	277a	II, 17	345b
I, 47	279a	II, 18	346b
I, 48	PLATE 19	II, 19	347b
I, 49	645a-646a	II, 20	348b
I, 50	648a-650a	II, 21	349b
I, 51	552a-554a	II, 22	350a-351a
I, 52	329a	II, 37	245c
I, 53	679	II, 38	244c
I, 55	144a	II, 39	243c
I, 56	156a-158a	II, 40	241c
I, 57	152a-153a	II, 41	240c
I, 58	428a-429a	II, 43 upper and lower	231a
I, 59	430a-431a	II, 49 lower	8c
I, 60	432a-434a	II, 54 lower	783
I, 61	435a-436a	II, 56	229c
I, 62	437a-439a	II, 57 upper	520b
I, 63	193a	II, 57 lower	132
I, 64	364a-366a	II, 58 upper	205a
I, 65 upper	500a	II, 58 lower	206a
I, 65 lower	475a	II, 59 upper	86
I, 66 upper	483a	II, 59 lower	108b
I, 66 lower	473a	II, 60 upper	122b
I, 67	497a-498a	II, 60 lower	121b
I, 68	496a	II, 61	104b
I, 69	344a-346a	II, 62	103b
I, 70	102a-104a	II, 63	102b
I, 71	108a, 110a-111a	II, 64 upper	100b
I, 72	282a-283a	II, 64 lower	101b
I, 73	278a	II, 65	136b
		II, 66	225a-226a
II, 1	312a	II, 67	227b
II, 2	381a-382a	II, 68	228b
II, 3	383a	II, 69	229b

B. CONCORDANCE OF ORIGINAL DRAWINGS AND CATALOGUE NUMBERS

<i>Or.Dr. vol., pl.</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>	<i>Or.Dr. vol., pl.</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>
II, 70	246b	IV, 52	184a
II, 71	554b	IV, 53	493a-494a
II, 72	84	IV, 54	502a-504a
II, 73	83	IV, 55	493b
II, 74	553b	IV, 56	637a
II, 75	85	IV, 57	234a-236a
		IV, 58	238a-241a
IV, 1	3a	IV, 59	227a-229a
IV, 2	4a	IV, 60	523a-525a
IV, 3	19a	IV, 61	529a
IV, 4	20a	IV, 62	535a
IV, 5	26a	IV, 63	536a
IV, 6	28a	IV, 64	531a
IV, 7	30a	IV, 65	213a-214a
IV, 8	31a	IV, 66	187a
IV, 9	34a	IV, 67	189, 190a
IV, 10	61d	IV, 68	195a-197a
IV, 11	61c	IV, 69	557a-567a
IV, 12	47c	IV, 70	568a-572a
IV, 13	50a	IV, 71	575a, 577a-583a
IV, 14	51a	IV, 72	285c, 286a-288a
IV, 15	56a	IV, 73	284a-285a
IV, 16	59a	IV, 74	273a
IV, 17	66a	IV, 75	271a-272a
IV, 18	68a	IV, 76	447a
IV, 19	70a	IV, 77	307a
IV, 20	71a	IV, 78	309a-310a
IV, 21	72a	IV, 79	548a-551a
IV, 22	80a	IV, III Miscellaneous	682
IV, 23	485a	IV, V Miscellaneous	231b
IV, 24	487a	IV, VI Miscellaneous	782
IV, 25	488a	IV, VII Miscellaneous	781
IV, 26	489a	IV, VIII Miscellaneous	226b
IV, 27	490a	IV, XI Miscellaneous	475b
IV, 28	466a-467a	IV, XX Miscellaneous	156b
IV, 29	469a	IV, XXI Miscellaneous	422
IV, 30	362a		
IV, 31	369a-370a	V, 51	677
IV, 32	606a-608a	V, 52	678
IV, 33	611a+613a	V, 53	482a
IV, 34	340a	V, 54	313a
IV, 35	341a	V, 55	481a
IV, 36	342a	V, 56	676
IV, 37	347a-349a	V, 57	680
IV, 38	626a-628a		
IV, 39	41a	VI, 1	370b
IV, 40	49a	VI, 2 upper	701
IV, 41	45a	VI, 2 lower	509a
IV, 42	643a	VI, 3	694
IV, 43	94a	VI, 4	453
IV, 44	100a-101a	VI, 5	263
IV, 45	121a-122a	VI, 6 upper	652
IV, 46	129a	VI, 6 lower	199
IV, 47	135a	VI, 7	368a
IV, 48	136a	VI, 8	364b-365b
IV, 49	143a	VI, 9	455
IV, 50	148a	VI, 10	366b
IV, 51	150a	VI, 11	372a

B. CONCORDANCE OF ORIGINAL DRAWINGS AND CATALOGUE NUMBERS

<i>Or.Dr. vol., pl.</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>	<i>Or.Dr. vol., pl.</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>
VI, 12	34b	VI, 27	510a-511a
VI, 13	456a	VI, 28	513a
VI, 14	507a-508a	VI, 29 right	192a
VI, 15	369b	VI, 29 left	371a
VI, 16	515a	VI, 33	662a, 664a
VI, 17	36a	VI, 34	670a
VI, 18 upper	260a	VI, 35	671a
VI, 18 lower	256a	VI, 36	658a
VI, 19	252a-253a	VI, 38	674a
VI, 20	454	VI, 39	672a
VI, 21	492a	VI, 43	659a
VI, 22	514a	VI, 44	660a
VI, 23	87	VI, 45	673a
VI, 24	691a	VI, 46	659b
VI, 25 upper	651	VI, 59	700a
VI, 25 lower	452	VI, 60	384b-386b
VI, 26	264		

*C. Concordance of Plate Numbers
in Layard's Monuments of Nineveh,
Volume and Plate Numbers of the Original Drawings
on which they were Based, and Catalogue Numbers*

Layard, 1849b, pl.	<i>Or. Dr. vol., pl.</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>	Layard, 1853b, pl.	<i>Or. Dr. vol., pl.</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>
67B	IV, 27	490	21	I, 59	430-431
68	IV, 20	71	22	I, 60	432-434
69	IV, 4	20	23	I, 61	435-436
70	IV, 6	28	24	I, 62	437-439
71	IV, 7	30	25	IV, 34	340
72	IV, 39	41	26	IV, 35-36	341-342
73	IV, 41	45	27	IV, 33	611 + 613
74	IV, 3	19	28	IV, 42	643
75	IV, 25	488	29	I, 63	193
76	IV, 26	489	30	IV, 32	606-608
77	IV, 5	26	31	I, 64	364-366
78	IV, 13	50	33 top	I, 65 upper	500
79	IV, 40	49	33 upper middle	I, 65 lower	475
80	IV, 17	66	33 lower middle	I, 66 lower	473
81	IV, 43	94	33 bottom	IV, 54	502-504
82 top	IV, 11	61c	34 upper	IV, 53	493-494
82 bottom	IV, 29	468	34 lower left	I, 68	496
83	IV, 28	466-467	34 lower right	I, 67	497-498
			35	I, 69	344-346
Layard, 1853b, pl.			36 left	IV, 37	347
6 right	IV, 2	4	36 right	IV, 61	529
7	IV, 71	575, 577-583	37	I, 70	102-104
8	IV, 69	557-567	38	I, 71	110-111
9	IV, 70	568-572	39	IV, 58	238-241
10	IV, 62	535	40	IV, 60	523-525
11	IV, 63	536	41	IV, 75 upper and 74	271, 273
12 upper	IV, 50	148	42	I, 72	282-283
12 lower	IV, 49	143	43	I, 73	278
13	I, 55	144	44	II, 1	312
14	I, 56	156-158	45	II, 2	381-382
15	I, 57	152-153	46	II, 3	383
16	IV, 48	136	47	II, 4	384
17	IV, 51	150	48	II, 5	385
18	IV, 59	227-229	49	II, 6	386
19	IV, 31	369-370	50	IV, 65	213-214
20	I, 58	428-429	56 left	I, 52	329

D. Concordance of Plate Numbers in Paterson, Palace of Sinacherib, and Catalogue Numbers

Paterson, 1915, pl. *Catalogue Numbers*

7 upper	19
7 lower	20
8	26
9	28
10	30
11	195b
12 upper	41
12 lower	66
13	45
14 left	49
14 right	50
15	71
16	94
17–18	102–104
19–20	110a–111
21 – see 98 (33)	113
22 upper	113–116/110–111
23	136
24	147
25–26	143
27–28	144
29–30	148
31	150
32–33	152–153
34–35	156–158
36	158b
37	193
38	213–214
39 upper	227–229
39 lower	238a–241a
40–41	282b–283b
42	283b
43	284b
44–45	278
46–47	273
48	272
49 upper	312
49 lower left	309–310
49 lower right	307
50	329
51	340–341 (left part)
52	341–342 (right part)
53–54	344c–346c
55–56	347c–348c
57–58	349c, 350b–351b
59	364–366

Paterson, 1915, pl. *Catalogue Numbers*

60–61	369c–370c
62–64	381b–383b, 390, 392–395, 399 & inscriptions
65–66	384b–386b
68–70	428c–430c
71–73	431c–434c
74–76	435c–436c, 437b–439b
77	430–431
78	435c (detail)
79 top	445
79 middle	466–467
79 bottom	[468]
80 upper	488
80 lower left	489
80 lower right	490
81 upper	493–494
81 lower left	496
81 lower right	497–498
82 top	500
82 upper middle	475
82 lower middle	473
82 bottom	502–504
83–84	523–525
85	529
86	531c
87 upper	536
87 lower	535
88	557–566
89	567–572
90	575–583
91	606–608
92 lower	611 + 613
93 upper	643
94–95 top	277b
94 middle	552
94 bottom	76
95 middle	637
96–97 (3)	184b
96 (9)	516
96 (10)	721
96 (11)	700b
97 (12)	702
97 (13)	221b
97 (14)	221c
98 (27–28)	243b–244b
98 (29)	245b
98 (30)	32b

D CONCORDANCE OF PLATE NUMBERS IN PATERSON, PALACE OF SINACHERIB

<i>Paterson, 1915, pl.</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>	<i>Paterson, 1915, pl.</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>
98 (31)	13a	98 (36)	584
98 (32)	15a	99	668
98 (33) (see pl. 21)	113		

E. Concordance of Publications of Slabs with Inscriptions

Sennacherib

Room	Slab	lines	Layard, 1851, p.	Rawlinson, 1861, pl.	Smith, 1878, p.	Birch & Pinches, 1883, p.	Bezold,* 1886, p.	Meissner & Rost, 1893, pl.	Paterson, 1915, p.	Luckenbill, 1924, no.	Luckenbill, 1927, §	Russell, 1991, p.	Other Sources	Cat. no.
H	2	2	75C						3			269		10
I	1	9	85 lower									270-71		19
I	4a	2										270-71		23
I	9	1								XXXI	495	269-70		26
I	22/24	4										272		35
III	8	2	82A		41		116:n			XXVI	490	272		45
V	11	4	75E				116:s		5	XXIX	493	272-3		54
V	30	4										273-4		66
V	35	3	81B									273		70
VI	61	4			160-61	106		10:1		VI(c)	419	274	Layard, 1853a, p. 117	148
VI	62?	4 + 4										274	Layard, 1853b, pl. 17	150
VI	66	6				102		10:2		VI(a)	417	275		156
VI	68	6										275	Scheil, 1893, p. 149	158
VII	?											275	Layard, 1853b, pl. 50	193
X	7	1										275	Layard, 1853b, pl. 39	213
XIV	10	2				68				XXVIII	492	275		240
XXXII	?	1												377
XXXIII	4	?				97								386
XXXVI	12	4		7.VIII:I	69		116:l			XXV	489	276		435
XXXVI	13	3		7.VIII:J	69		116:m			XXXII	496	277		436
XXXVIII	?	2										277	Layard, 1853a, p. 342	452
XLV	2	4										277		485
XLVII	?	2							11			277		509
XLIX	?								11		124:43	277-8		p. 119
LI	28	?							4			278		575b
LX	2	2			52		116:q		12	XXVII	491	278		601
LXX	3 + 4	4			41				13	XXX	494	278		645-643
Ishar Passage												278	Gadd, 1936, p. 94	656-675
Unattributed														698

E. CONCORDANCE OF PUBLICATIONS OF SLABS WITH INSCRIPTIONS

Ashurbanipal

Room	Slab	lines	Rawlinson, 1870, pl.	Smith 1871, p.	Birch & Pinches 1883, p.	Bezold,* 1886, p.	Streck, 1916, p.	Luckenbill, 1927, §	Gerardi, 1988, p.	Other Sources	Cat. no.
XXVIII	?	?								Falkner, 1952-3, p. 250	352
XXXIII	1	4	37:4	144	78	115:e	313:γ	1030	29		381
XXXIII	2	5	37:2	144-5	81	115:c	315:δ	1031	30		382
XXXIII	3	3	37:5	143	82	115:f	311:α	1028	30		383
XXXIII	3	6	37:3	143-4	83	115:d	313:β	1029	31		383
XXXIII	4	3	37:7	148		116:h	317:η	1034	31		384
XXXIII	5	5	37:6	146	92	115:g	315:ε	1033	32		385
XXXIII	6	8	37:1	146-7	95	115:b	317:θ	1035	32-33		386
XXXIII	6	1							33		386
XXXIII	?	1								Kalaç, 1954, p. 39	400
XXXIII	?	3+								Weidner, 1939, p. 64	413
XXXIII	?	4							34	Bezold, 1921, p. 116 no. 7	419

*No transliteration or translation.

These lists do not include the doorway inscriptions because they have no direct relevance to the events depicted on the reliefs. For further information on those inscriptions see Galter, Levine & Reade, 1986 and Russell, 1991, pp. 10-19 and 244-5.

F. Concordance of Room Letters, Room Numbers, Subjects and Catalogue Numbers in the Present Catalogue

<i>Room Letters</i> <i>see PLATES 6–8</i>	<i>Room/Courtyard Numbers</i> <i>see PLATES 10–14</i>	<i>Numbers of possible Sennacherib campaigns depicted</i> * = <i>Other themes</i> <i>Later = post-Sennacherib</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>
H	H	Later	1–17
B	I	West 3	18–39
—	II	—	—
G > C	III	Babylonia 1/4 Dilbat	40–45
A	IV	East 2/5	46
C > G	V	East 2 Aran/Erinziash, Kasusi	47–91
I	VI	2/5 and *Bull moving	94–184
R	VII	2/3	185–193
S	VIII	2/3	194–203
P	IX	2/3/5	204–210
Q	X	West 3	211–216
AAA	XI	West 3	217
L	XII	West 3	218–230
J	XIII	—	231–232
K	XIV	2/5 -a/Alammu	233–247
—	XV	—	248
—	XVI	—	249–250
F	XVII	2/3/5	251–264
—	XVIII	—	265
U	XIX	Later	266–304
—	XX	—	305
—	XXI	—	—
XX	XXII	Later	306–319
OOO	XXIII	—	—
GG	XXIV	West 3	320–333
HH	XXV	—	—
MMM	XXVI	—	334–335
LLL	XXVII	—	336–338
FF	XXVIII	Later	339–353
Z	XXIX	—	354–358

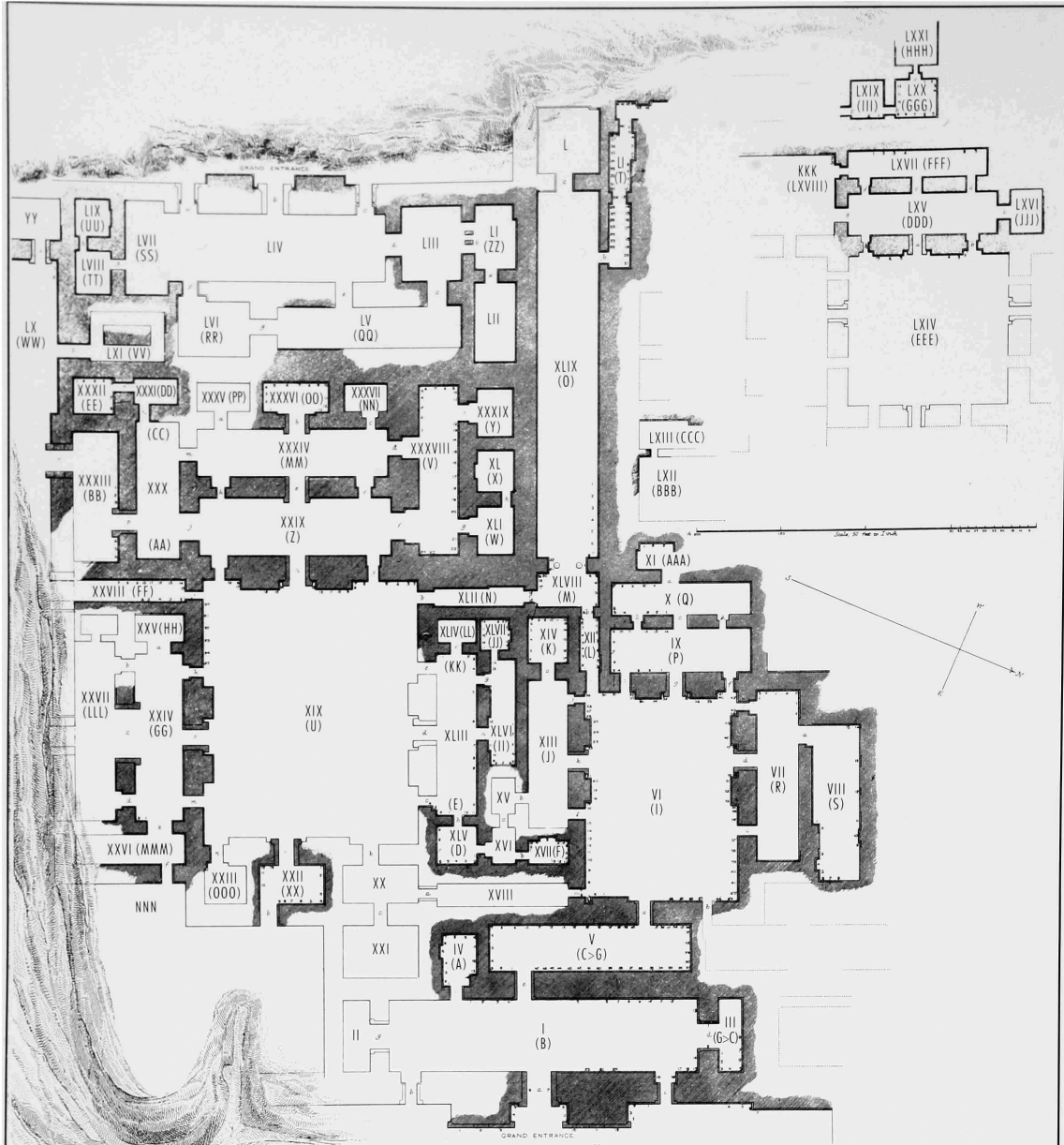
F CONCORDANCE OF ROOM LETTERS, ROOM NUMBERS, SUBJECTS AND CATALOGUE NUMBERS

<i>Room Letters</i> <i>see PLATES 6-8</i>	<i>Room/Courtyard Numbers</i> <i>see PLATES 10-14</i>	<i>Numbers of possible Sennacherib</i> <i>campaigns depicted</i> <i>* = Other themes</i> <i>Later = post-Sennacherib</i>	<i>Catalogue</i> <i>Numbers</i>
AA, CC	XXX	—	359-361
DD	XXXI	2/5	362-363
EE	XXXII	2/5	364-380
BB	XXXIII	Later, River Ulai	381-421
MM	XXXIV	West 3	422-426
PP	XXXV	—	—
OO	XXXVI	West 3 Lachish	427-439
NN	XXXVII	—	—
V	XXXVIII	West 3	440-462
Y	XXXIX	2/3/5	—
X	XL	West 3	463
W	XLI	West 3	463
N	XLII	2/5	464
E, KK	XLIII	Later and 2/3	465-482
LL	XLIV	2/5	483
D	XLV	2/5	484-492
II	XLVI	East 2	493-506
JJ	XLVII	East 2	507-516
M	XLVIII	West 3	517-530
O	XLIX	*Moving stone	531-545
—	L	—	—
ZZ	LI South	1/4	546-555
T	LI North	*Servants/horses	556-585
—	LII	—	—
—	LIII	—	586-587
—	LIV	—	588-594
QQ	LV	—	595
RR	LVI	—	—
SS	LVII	—	596-597
TT	LVIII	—	598-599
UU	LIX	—	600
WW	LX	2	601-603
VV	LXI	—	PLATE 19
BBB	LXII	—	604
CCC	LXIII	—	—
EEE	LXIV	1/4 and 3	605-615
DDD	LXV	2/3/5	616-624
JJJ	LXVI	—	625
FFF	LXVII	3/5	626-632
KKK	LXVIII	—	633-636

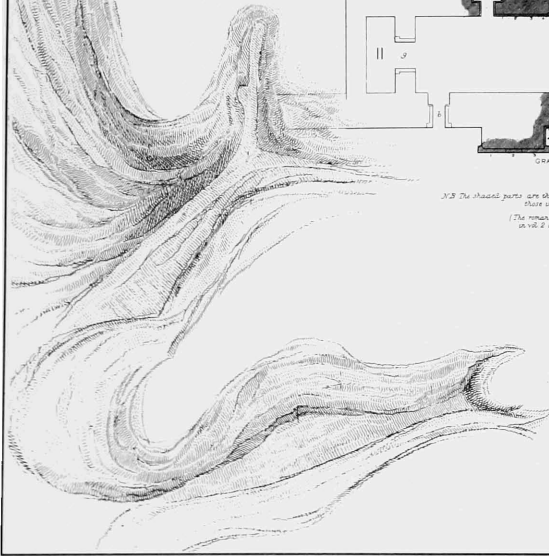
F CONCORDANCE OF ROOM LETTERS, ROOM NUMBERS, SUBJECTS AND CATALOGUE NUMBERS

<i>Room Letters</i> <i>see PLATES 6-8</i>	<i>Room/Courtyard Numbers</i> <i>see PLATES 10-14</i>	<i>Numbers of possible Sennacherib</i> <i>campaigns depicted</i> <i>* = Other themes</i> <i>Later = post-Sennacherib</i>	<i>Catalogue</i> <i>Numbers</i>
III	LXIX	1/4	637-641
GGG	LXX	1 Sahrina	642-654
HHH	LXXI	—	—
NNN	—	—	—
YY	—	—	655
Ishtar Temple Passage	—	*	656-675
Unattributed	—	—	676-789

Note: According to Russell (1991, p. 164), it is probable that only the first campaign to Babylonia (704/3-703/2 BC), the second campaign in the East (702 BC) and the third campaign in the West (701 BC) were depicted on the reliefs. However, as the bull inscriptions record later campaigns, it is possible that the fourth campaign to Babylonia (700 BC) and the fifth campaign in the north (c. 697 BC) were also depicted.



3/3 The shaded parts are the remains of building actually excavated.
 Those in outline restorations.
 (The roman letters refer to the plan as laid out by Winckler & his mensurers.)



Adapted from Layard, 1853b.

